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National Portrait Gallery

CHARLES I.

(From a contemporary portrait by Mytens.)

OUTLINES OF BRITISH HISTORY

BY

F. W. TICKNER.

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*Author of "A Social and Industrial History of England"
"Women in English Economic History," "Europe since 1789"
"Stories of World History," etc. etc.*

WITH 71 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 22 MAPS AND PLANS

PART II

FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT TIME

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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to present a continuous account of the way in which England and the English have grown and developed, to boys and girls who have already learned something of their country's history by means of story and biography.

To make this story plainer to young readers many maps, plans, charts and pictures have been introduced, and the study of these pictures and maps is at least as important as the study of the text itself.

Exercises have also been suggested at the end of each stage of the narrative ; and these exercises have been varied as much as possible so that any boys and girls who are particularly interested in drawing and modelling may have an opportunity of using these methods as an aid to improving their knowledge of English history.

The author is much indebted to those who have given permission to reproduce pictures and photographs in the book.

F. W. TICKNER.

June 1924.

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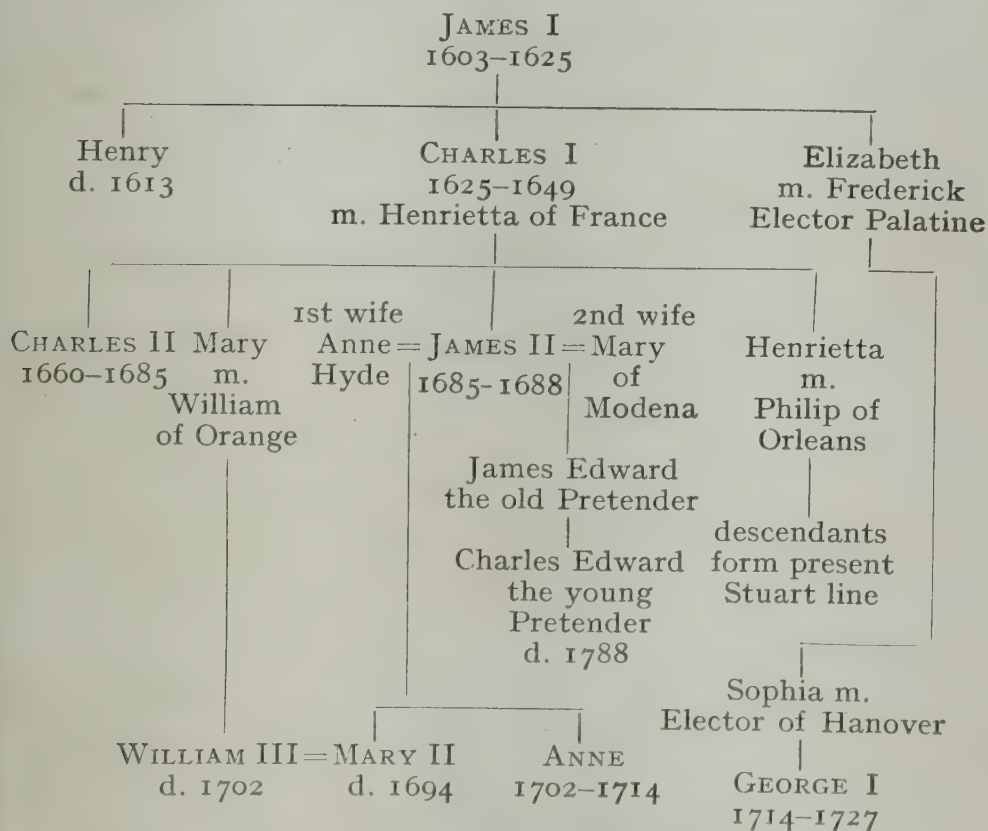
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CHAPTER XI

King and Parliament: The Struggle for Supremacy

(i) *James I and his Parliaments*

THE STUARTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS¹



(Continued on page 366)

IN spite of the great popularity of the Tudor rulers, and especially of Queen Elizabeth, the last years of

¹ Continued from page 228.

the queen's reign were marked by a growing change in the attitude of the English people towards their sovereigns. The absolute power they had exercised had been accepted by the English people, because it had seemed to them the only means of escape from civil war or invasion by a foreign power. The successful rule of the Tudors, and the prosperity which had accompanied it, made civil war unthinkable ; the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588, showed that foreign invasion was no longer to be feared. Freed from these cares and anxieties, the people had begun, therefore, to turn their attention to home affairs. The years of peace and prosperity had greatly increased the numbers of the middle classes, and had also added to their wealth, and now these members of the middle classes were asking for a greater share in the control of national affairs. Under the Tudors, Parliament had played only a small part in the government of the country. The affairs of State had been under the direction and control of the ruler and his ministers. Parliaments had usually been called together only to vote the necessary money, or to pass laws that were not likely to be popular ; though there were some occasions on which Parliament had asserted itself strongly ; as, for example, when it insisted, in Mary's reign, on the right of Elizabeth to succeed her sister if the queen left no heir. But now the English people were beginning to demand a return to the system of representative government for which De Montfort and his successors had struggled ; and such a demand was likely to be irresistible, and certainly required the careful handling of a wise and statesmanlike ruler.

Unfortunately such a ruler was not forthcoming. The direct Tudor line came to an end at the death of Elizabeth, and sovereignty passed to a new line of kings. The monarch chosen was James VI of Scotland, the great-grandson of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, and the son of Mary, Queen of Scots.¹ James was thirty-seven years of age when he came to be ruler of England ; he was too old to learn new ways or to adapt himself to new conditions of life and rule, and so he never understood the English people or their character or their methods of government. His upbringing had been in many ways an unfortunate one. He had never known his father ; he had been taken from a mother's care while still a baby ; he had been brought up by stern guardians, and educated by domineering Presbyterian ministers of a very narrow-minded type. Their treatment had taught him to dislike Presbyterianism very much ; and when he came to England he treated the English Puritans as if they were Presbyterians also. His careful education led him to believe that he was a very wise person, a modern Solomon in fact, for he was one of those persons who mistake knowledge for wisdom ; and his vanity and conceit made him very fond of argument, and a firm believer in his ability to convince all with whom he argued.

His views on methods of government did not agree with those of his new English subjects. He did not believe in Parliamentary government at all. He believed that a monarch was appointed by God, and was therefore answerable for his actions to God alone.

¹ Compare the genealogical table on page 228.

Succession to the throne was strictly a matter of heredity, the ruler was above the law, and it was an act of impiety as well as of rebellion to oppose the king's commands, or even to criticise them. Moreover, being above the law, the ruler could, if he thought it necessary, dispense with any particular law for the time being. Such a doctrine of *divine right* was not likely to find favour with the English people, who had already on several occasions chosen rulers who were not persons of direct descent, and had gained rights and privileges entitling them to a share in the government of the land. The bishops and clergy might accept the doctrine of *passive obedience* to a ruler of this kind; the traders and lawyers of the English middle classes were not likely to do so. One right, in particular, which they cherished was the right to tax themselves, and here especially trouble was sure to come. Even Elizabeth had been careful not to take much money from her subjects; James was a spendthrift, wasting money on favourites and their follies.

Unfortunately, too, for a monarch with these ideas, there was nothing attractive about James either in personal appearance or in habits. He was ungainly in person, his speech was spoiled by a slobbering tongue too large for his mouth; he was weak-kneed and shambling in gait, and lacking in personal dignity; he took little pains to please those who opposed him. The result was that his reign was one long quarrel with his Parliaments. It would be wrong to suppose that all the fault was on the king's side, but he was narrow-minded and conceited, and lacking in

the tact which would have brought Elizabeth safely through a much more difficult situation than James was called upon to face soon after the commencement of his reign. Henry IV of France has summed James up for us in the phrase "the wisest fool in Christendom."

But the right to share in the government and the problems of taxation were not the only matters that could cause trouble between the king and the English people. There was also the grave problem of religion. It is not easy for us to understand the point of view of our English forefathers on this question in the days of the Stuarts. We live in an age of toleration, when all the various religious sects are permitted to worship freely according to their own desires and convictions. In 1603 England had become a great Protestant country; and the majority of the people were now definitely committed to Protestantism. But in Europe at this time the Roman Catholics were gaining very much ground at the expense of the Protestants. Their Church had been reformed, and the new religious zeal which accompanied this reformation, the Counter-Reformation, as it is called, had strengthened the position of the Roman Catholic Church in many countries. France, Spain, Italy were definitely countries of that faith; Germany, the home of the Reformation, was divided; England, Scotland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries were definitely Protestant. But the revival of Roman Catholicism naturally made the Protestants anxious for their future; some of them feared that their cause was lost; all of them watched carefully lest the king should do anything

that might help to restore the Roman Catholic faith ; and they were anxious to put into effect laws which bore hardly upon Roman Catholics.

At the same time the English churchmen were themselves dividing into two classes. You may remember that in her religious Reformation Elizabeth had aimed at keeping within the Church as many of her subjects as she possibly could. The result was that in the Church of England there were men and women of very diverse religious views. These were now dividing into two sections : the High Churchmen or Anglicans, who wished to preserve as many as possible of the ceremonies and practices and historical associations of the mediæval Church ; and the Puritans, as they were now being termed, who cared less for the religion of former days, and were intent upon obtaining a pure and simple form of faith and worship. The Anglicans naturally clung to the older ceremonies of the Church, and made much of music, stained glass, statuary, and vestments ; they also emphasised the importance of the priest, as the chosen intermediary between God and man ; and they believed in the divine right of bishops, as God's representatives on earth. The Puritans, on the other hand, were all for a simple service, without the aid of music or vestments. Many objected even to the use of a surplice, or to the wedding-ring, or to the sign of the cross in the baptismal service. All wished to purify the services of the Church, and the name of Puritan, given to them first in derision, became the title by which they were known and of which they were proud. At this time many of them were still members of the Church of

England, and they hoped that James, who had been brought up a Presbyterian, would favour their views, just as the Roman Catholics hoped that the son of Mary of Scots would be inclined to favour them.

But both were mistaken. James was all in favour of Anglicanism, for it recognised the king as the Head of the Church ; and was, therefore, the form of religion that fitted best with his theories of divine right. " No bishop, no king," was one of his shrewd sayings to the Puritans who objected to the control of church affairs by bishops ; and he remembered also that Popes had on occasion been responsible for deposing kings. On his accession, however, he agreed to a conference at Hampton Court between Anglicans and Puritans, partly, no doubt, that he might show his skill as a theologian and mediator ; but the only good result of the conference was the issue of the Authorised Version of the Bible, 1611 ; the grandest prose work in the English language. His opposition to Puritanism added differences of opinion on religious questions to the demand the people were making for self-government, and made still more bitter the struggle which now commenced between the king and the English Parliament.

For these differences of opinion made James's reign one long quarrel between his Parliament and himself. The king tried to interfere with the rights and privileges of the members ; Parliament was little inclined to give him the large sums of money he wanted for purposes of government. They thought that James should be satisfied with the amount of money that

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Elizabeth had had ; but this was really unfair to James. Elizabeth was single ; James was married and had children to support ; Elizabeth had been careful and almost miserly ; James was wasteful ; prices too were rising rapidly at this time, thanks to the quantities of silver and gold that the Spaniards were bringing to Europe from the New World, and it was impossible for James to live on the same income as was possible in Elizabeth's day.

When Parliament refused James the money he required he proceeded to get it by methods which Parliament held to be illegal. He imposed extra taxes on imports, *impositions* they were called ; he granted *monopolies* (that is, the sole right of making and selling particular kinds of goods) to certain favoured individuals in return for money payments to him or his friends. One merchant refused to pay duties not sanctioned by Parliament, and was sued in the law courts. The judge decided that James had the right to levy these impositions ; and this raised another important point. At this time the judges could be dismissed from office at any time by the king, and Parliament saw that this influenced them in their decisions.

His first Parliament lasted seven years (1604-1611) ; it is therefore the Parliament of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605. No lasting agreement with James was reached by it, though in these years he had the benefit of the wise advice of William Cecil, second son of the famous Lord Burghley. As the second Parliament, 1614, proved no better, James dissolved it after it had sat for a few weeks, and then for seven years he ruled

without a Parliament, and in that time succeeded in turning the English people against him by follies of various kinds. His efforts to raise money by monopolies and impositions gained him the enmity of the trading classes ; the nobility and gentry were annoyed by his readiness to sell peerages and baronetcies to those who would pay for them ; Puritans of all classes were angry with him for trying to make an alliance with Spain, the leader of the Roman Catholic nations, and to marry his son to a Spanish princess. They were also deeply offended by the immoral character of his court. After Cecil's death in 1612, the control of affairs passed into the hands of royal favourites, for James was very susceptible to flattery, and to the pretty face of any young adventurer. His first favourite, a Scotch page named Robert Carr, who was made Earl of Somerset, proved a most worthless fellow, and had to be sent from court ; his successor, George Villiers, who became Duke of Buckingham, was a more important person, and was not without ability, but his influence on James and his son Charles helped much to bring about the downfall of the Stuart line. On these persons and their relatives James lavished money and preferments, and gained the dislike of his subjects in consequence. But the ruler who would rule without Parliament must exercise the greatest possible economy before all things ; and James's extravagance made Parliament necessary, and gave the members a weapon with which to attack him ; for supplies of money could be withheld until James had listened to their complaints and redressed their grievances.

The English still hated Spain with all the religious fervour of the days of Elizabeth, and objected to the king's attempts to make an alliance with the hated enemy. James believed sincerely in the text "Blessed are the peacemakers," and thought that his mission on earth was to bring about a great reign of peace throughout Europe. But the only weapon he could use for this purpose was his ability in argument, and, as he could not back his arguments by force, his opponents only laughed at him behind his back, and went on their way, using James as they pleased. He was no match for the clever ambassadors from Spain, who played with him by flattering him as a fountain of wisdom in European politics, and so were able to gain what they wanted in the interest of their own country. He even sacrificed Raleigh at the desire of Spain, and that famous Elizabethan was executed in 1618, after an unsuccessful expedition to South America in search of gold, in which his followers had shed Spanish blood.

In 1613 James had married his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was the leader of the Calvinist Protestants in Germany. This marriage was just as popular in England as the suggested Spanish match was unpopular. But in 1618 Frederick very unwisely accepted the vacant throne of Bohemia at the invitation of the Protestants of that country, although such an acceptance was sure to bring about war, for the other claimant to the throne was the ruler of Austria, the Archduke Ferdinand, who was the leader of the German Catholics and the cousin and brother-in-law of the King of



Spain. In a very short time a terrible religious war broke out in Germany which was to last for thirty years (1618-1648); the Austrians overran Bohemia,

and the Spanish forces in the Netherlands occupied the Palatinate; Frederick and Elizabeth were driven into exile; and James was compelled to summon a third Parliament to obtain supplies to furnish help to his son-in-law, 1621.

Parliament met in an angry mood, though leaders were lacking to give point to its protests. The members were eager to help their princess, but James was still negotiating with the Spaniards and Austrians in the belief that he could bring about peace without resorting to arms. While James hesitated, Parliament, which had no other business to do, began to attack the monopolists and impeached and punished the worst offender, Sir Giles Mompesson, who was a relative of Buckingham. It next made an attack upon the corruption of the courts of law, and chose as its victim, Francis, Lord Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, by no means the worst offender. He was found guilty of receiving bribes from suitors, and was dismissed from his office and heavily fined.

Meanwhile the Protestants in Germany were suffering serious defeats, and Parliament turned its attention to foreign affairs. It sent to the king a letter of advice offering aid on behalf of Elizabeth and advising him not to associate with Catholic Spain. James in anger replied that Parliament had no right to interfere in foreign affairs. The Commons then passed a resolution that the right to advise the king on all matters of state was the undoubted birthright and privilege of Parliament, and James in anger sent for the *Journal* of the Commons, tore out the offending resolution from it, and then dissolved the Parliament.

But the situation on the Continent showed no improvement ; the Roman Catholic cause was triumphant in Germany, and the Protestants were divided among themselves. Yet James still hoped to play the part of peacemaker, and the Spanish ambassador still held out the possibility of the Spanish marriage, for an English naval attack would have forced Spain to withdraw from the contest.

But now Charles became impatient, and he and Buckingham decided to visit Madrid as private persons and see the princess themselves—a dangerous course when the countries were not very far from war. They were well received ; but they soon found out that no Spanish match was possible, and started home disgusted with Spain and all things Spanish. On their outward journey they had visited the French court ; and they now began to wish for a French alliance, and the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French king.

Alliance with France meant antagonism to Spain ; and Charles and Buckingham forced this new policy on the reluctant James, who still believed in the Spanish alliance, but could not refuse their wishes. A fourth Parliament, 1624, was called to vote the money necessary for war with Spain. It impeached the Lord Treasurer, Weston, for misuse of the public funds, and, as Weston was disliked by Buckingham, the impeachment was successful, though James warned Buckingham and Charles of the danger they were incurring. “ The time will come,” he said, “ when you will have a bellyful of impeachments.” This impeachment was a very important victory for Parlia-

ment, for no minister had been impeached for nearly two hundred years; and this success marks the beginning of the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament for their actions. Parliament also did away with monopolies, replacing them by the grant of letters patent in all cases where new inventions or new methods of industry or trade demanded protection, very much as is done to-day. An army was raised for service in the Low Countries, though Parliament would have preferred to continue the old Elizabethan naval attacks on Spain and her colonies. It seemed for the moment as if the new turn that foreign politics had taken would unite Parliament and king. But before much could happen James died, worn out by the cares of his reign and the errors of his life.

(ii) *Charles I and his Parliaments*

It was very unfortunate for England that Charles I became king at the moment he did. In many ways he was a much better man than his father, and under ordinary conditions he might have reigned for a long period without quarrelling with his people. He was stately and dignified and kingly in his bearing and conduct. He was a good husband and a kind parent, and his court was free from the vices that had marred his father's court. But he had been trained by James I to believe in the divine right of kings and in absolute rule, and now the troubles of his father's reign and the failure with which it closed raised much opposition against him, and placed him in a situation that brought out all the worst features of his character :

his obstinacy, his aloofness, his inability to mix with and please his fellows, above all, his untruthfulness, insincerity, and fondness for double dealing. He was without the insight which enables leaders to see when they are acting against the will of the people, and his choice of advisers did not help him in this connection.

His marriage with Henrietta of France caused suspicion against him on religious grounds; people feared that it was the first step towards making England a Roman Catholic country. There was a very strong feeling indeed in the country at this time on this particular question, and Charles added to the suspicion by choosing for his chaplain a High Church clergyman, whose sermons were particularly obnoxious to the Puritans.

His first Parliament was angry at the failure of the expedition which had been sent to the Low Countries in 1625, and refused to grant him sufficient money to carry on the war. In addition, they granted him tunnage and poundage for *one year only*, instead of the usual grant of this money for life. By keeping control over the money they gave the king they hoped to be able to use the grant of supplies as a means of bargaining with him for the removal of the impositions and other duties to which they objected. But Charles refused to accept tunnage and poundage on these terms, and as Parliament was dissolved almost immediately, he was forced to raise money by unconstitutional means.

The favourite Buckingham was another cause of trouble between king and Parliament. Parliament blamed Buckingham for the evils that had come upon

the land ; the king shielded his favourite and dissolved Parliament to prevent the members impeaching him. Buckingham tried to redeem his failures and win the good-will of the House by victories against Spain and France, but his expeditions were costly failures, and gave Parliament fresh cause for complaint and fresh grounds for attack. The Commons, too, were now finding capable leaders ; in Charles's second Parliament, 1626, appeared Sir John Eliot, a Cornish gentleman of good birth and education, whose fiery, passionate eloquence roused the members to great enthusiasm. As Parliament still refused to grant supplies, Charles raised money by tunnage and poundage, impositions, and forced loans. Those who refused to pay were imprisoned ; and this imprisonment raised once more the question of the control of the judges, for some judges who refused to decide that the king could lawfully ask for a forced loan were dismissed from office by him. Religious feeling was also inflamed by the Anglican clergy, who were preaching that passive obedience to the king was a religious duty.

While relations were thus strained, the failure of an expedition against France on behalf of the French Huguenots of Rochelle compelled the king to call a Parliament once more. This third Parliament, 1628, is one of the most important Parliaments in the history of the English people. It contained an overwhelming majority of members opposed to the king, one of them being Oliver Cromwell, who now entered Parliament for the first time. The king's opponents, too, had a large number of capable leaders ; they included Sir John Eliot ; Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire

squire, who was an opponent of Buckingham ; John Pym, an eloquent reasoner and convincing debater ; and two famous lawyers, John Selden, the most learned lawyer of his day, and Sir Edward Coke, who had been dismissed by James I from the post of Lord Chief Justice of England because he had dared to oppose James in legal matters.

With Wentworth as spokesman, Parliament refused to grant supplies to the king until he had redressed their grievances ; and presented to him a *Petition of Right*, which they pressed him to sign. This Petition of Right is one of the great charters of English liberty, ranking in importance in the



JOHN PYM.

(From a contemporary engraving.)

minds of the English people with Magna Carta and other important documents. It was a statement of the *rights* of the people, not an attempt to introduce new rights by legislation. It pointed out the statutes on which the liberties of the English people were based, and the ways in which James and Charles had broken them ; and it asked the king to agree that all taxation without consent of Parliament was illegal ; that

imprisonment without trial was illegal; that soldiers and sailors should not be billeted in private houses; and that martial law in time of peace was illegal.

The pressing need of money forced Charles to sign the Petition, and Parliament then voted money to fit out a new expedition to Rochelle. But Buckingham never went upon that expedition, for as he was about to embark at Portsmouth he was assassinated by a lieutenant in the army, who thought that he was avenging both public and private wrongs by his deed. Meanwhile Charles was collecting the tunnage and poundage dues, and Parliament declared that these were included in the first clause of the Petition of Right, while Charles insisted that they were not. Hence when members met for their next session they were in angry mood, and declared that Charles had broken the Petition of Right. Religious affairs were also causing them much distress, for Charles was still appointing High Churchmen to important positions in the Church, and the doctrines and practices of these men seemed to the Puritans to be the same as those of the Roman Catholics. Charles ordered the House to adjourn, and the members, knowing quite well that the House was about to be dissolved, locked the doors and held the Speaker in his chair to prevent any adjournment until three resolutions, proposed by Eliot, were passed. These resolutions declared that whosoever proposed any innovation in religion, whosoever advised the levying of tunnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, and whosoever willingly paid such illegal taxes was an enemy to the kingdom.

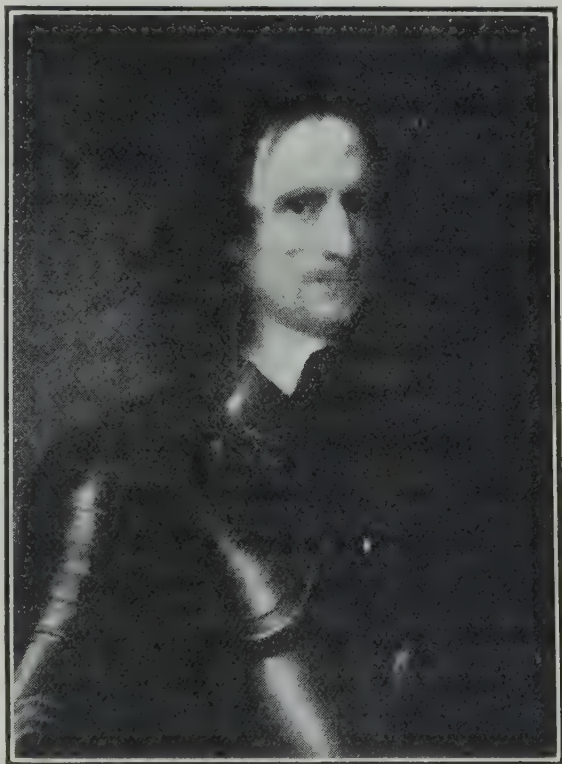
After this Charles ruled without a Parliament for eleven years, the longest interval without a Parliament in English history. Eliot and some other members were imprisoned in the Tower for opposing the king, and Eliot died there four years later, a martyr to his cause. Charles was now responsible for the government of England, but he was helped in the northern counties, and afterwards in Ireland, by Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had gone over to the king's side on the death of Buckingham. Wentworth was never a favourite of the king, as Buckingham had been; he was too clever a statesman for that, for Charles was too jealous to have a great man as his favourite. Church affairs were in the hands of William Laud, a clergyman who was too narrow-minded for a situation such as this, when the leader of the Church should have been tolerant and broad-minded. But Laud's point of view pleased Charles; and he made him Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Wentworth and Laud called their system of government *Thorough*, because they allowed nothing to stand in the way of what they thought to be necessary for the well-being of the State. They were both of them very able men, and England enjoyed good government during the eleven years of their control. Justice was fairly administered, and great efforts were made to improve the trade and commerce of the country. But they failed to win either the respect or affection of the people they controlled, and so their work was a failure, and added to the feeling against the king. In their work they used courts without juries, whose judges were likely

to be under their influence, and whose decisions they could control. These courts were the Court of Star Chamber, of which Henry VII had made great use ; the Council of the North, instituted by Henry VIII ; and the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, established by Elizabeth to ensure uniformity of religion after her Reformation of the Church. These courts were used to fine, pillory, brand, and mutilate extreme Puritans, who would not accept Laud's religious system. When men were prepared to lose ears or tongues for their religion, they won the sympathy of many persons who were certainly no supporters of their religious views, and would probably not have sided with the Parliament but for this. Many Puritans left England for America in despair, and settled in the New England colonies ; the first of these had sailed in the *Mayflower* in the reign of James I.

As time went on the king's difficulties increased. Many methods of raising money were adopted, which were perhaps not actually illegal, for they were usually methods the Tudor rulers had used, but were certainly unwise in the present state of the nation. They included attempts to recover lands (or money instead of the lands) which had once been part of the royal forests ; impositions on trading goods ; and monopolies of the sale of many articles in general use. But even these proved insufficient, and Charles revived an old *ship money* tax, which had formerly been exacted only in time of war. The levy of 1634 was confined to the coast towns, but in 1635 the levy was renewed and extended to cover the whole of England. Many persons refused to pay ship money, and a case was

stated in the courts of law. The defendant was an important member of the previous Parliament, a Buckinghamshire gentleman named John Hampden, who had already resisted a forced loan some years previously ; and although the judges were still at the king's mercy, five of the twelve who judged the case decided in Hampden's favour. This judgment, and the arguments brought forward by Hampden's counsel, did much to rouse the spirit of the nation against the king's arbitrary government.

Yet the king could probably have continued his absolute rule much longer if he could have preserved peace and lived sparingly ; for



National Portrait Gallery.

JOHN HAMPDEN.

(From a contemporary portrait by R. Walker.)

England was prospering exceedingly in trade and commerce now that the other European nations were engaged in the Thirty Years' War. Unfortunately, Laud was not content to confine his zeal for the Church to England ; he must needs try also to alter existing conditions in Scotland. The Scottish Reformation had introduced into the Church the

Presbyterian form of church government by which church affairs were controlled by an Assembly, consisting of representatives sent by the various churches. James I, however, had forced them to accept the control of their Church by bishops; now, with the help of these bishops, Charles and Laud tried in 1637 to compel the Scots to accept a new Prayer Book, which was decidedly anti-Presbyterian. There was a riot in the cathedral at Edinburgh when the new Prayer Book was first used there, and soon the Scots were joining together in a National Covenant for the preservation of their Presbyterian form of worship. War followed, but Charles found the Scottish army too strong to be attacked, and was forced to agree to a settlement of the difficulty by a conference. No agreement was reached however, for both sides were obstinate, and Charles prepared to renew the war. But war was impossible without money, and so Charles was forced to call a Parliament once more. He may have hoped that a war against the Scots would be popular with his English subjects, but he was sadly mistaken. People saw that the Scots were fighting for English liberty as well as for their own. The new Parliament, with John Pym as leader, refused to grant any supplies until their grievances had been redressed. Many members sympathised with the Scots; others were afraid of the use to which Charles might put an army if he had one. The Parliament was dissolved by the king after existing only three weeks; it is known as the Short Parliament.

Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, had been recalled from Ireland to be the leader of the Scottish

campaign, but nothing could be done with the army, for the men had been pressed into a service they were unwilling to undertake. The Scottish army crossed the border and defeated the king's forces at Newburn. When they reached Ripon Charles was forced to come to terms with them. They were to remain in England until an agreement had been reached, and in the meantime were to receive £835 a day for their expenses. Money had to be found for this purpose, and, as the need of money was now imperative, Charles was compelled to summon a new Parliament. It met on November 3, 1640, and was not dissolved for twenty years, hence its title, the Long Parliament.

When this Parliament met, its leaders, Pym and Hampden, proceeded to make its position as safe as they could. There was much to do before they could grant the king the money which would send the Scots back home again. The victims of Laud's zeal were released. Strafford and Laud were impeached. A Triennial Act ensured that a Parliament should be summoned every three years or oftener, and should not be dissolved until it had sat for fifty days. Ship money was declared illegal; the courts which Laud had used were abolished. It proved difficult to impeach Strafford successfully, and a Bill of Attainder was introduced instead; and Charles, who had promised that Strafford should never be injured, was forced to agree to his execution, from fear of the impeachment of his wife, who had been one of his worst advisers in State affairs. Laud was kept a prisoner in the Tower. Before Strafford's death there were rumours of a plot

to release him by means of the Army ; the Parliament met this by a Bill declaring that Parliament should not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent.

So far, most of the members of Parliament had worked together, but now the introduction of religious questions caused a split. The extreme Puritans brought forward a Bill (the Root and Branch Bill) for the abolition of Episcopacy altogether. The moderate Puritans did not favour this ; and a new party now came into existence under the leadership of a capable lawyer named Edward Hyde, and a noble-minded peer, Lord Falkland. This party was in favour of an agreement with the king. If Charles could have used his opportunities wisely and well, he might have collected a goodly number of supporters, for many Englishmen were shrinking from the steps the extremists were taking ; but Charles was unable to make use of the opportunity. In 1641, too, there broke out in Ireland a great insurrection, which was accompanied by the murder of large numbers of Protestants. Many people believed that Charles was implicated in the rising, though he was quite innocent of any association with it. It was impossible, however, for the Parliament to trust him with an army to suppress the rising, though he asked for it ; for Charles might well have used the army to attack the chief of his opponents.

On the whole, however, the situation was becoming somewhat more favourable for the king, and so Pym brought before the Commons a *Grand Remonstrance*, which narrated all the wrong acts of which Charles had been guilty, and all the good works of the Parlia-

ment. Such a Remonstrance was a direct challenge to Charles and an appeal to the country against him. It was stoutly opposed by the moderate party, and carried by only eleven votes after a long and passionate debate. It was then ordered to be printed and issued to the nation.

Matters had reached a crisis, and Charles's reply was to propose the impeachment of six of the leading members of Parliament. He followed up this illegal proposal by the fatal blunder of going in person to the Parliament with an armed bodyguard to arrest them. He was too late. The members had gone by river to the City of London for protection, and Charles retired from the House amid angry cries of "Privilege."

War seemed inevitable, and the question of the control of the militia and their stores of munitions became of great importance. Parliament passed a Bill giving the control to itself, but Charles refused to agree; Parliament then issued an ordinance of its own, and began to muster forces in the districts favourable to its cause. Charles moved to York and began collecting forces also. On August 22, 1642, he raised his standard at Nottingham, and civil war began.

(iii) *Civil War*







Charles's attempt to arrest the five members brought the struggle between King and Parliament to a climax. It was necessary to decide whether the King or Parliament should rule the country, and this could now be

decided only by force of arms. The conflict, which had commenced with the accession of James I, had gone from bad to worse ; both sides had obstinately refused to come to an agreement ; new causes of dispute had been found ; worst of all, religious differences had been added to political differences ; and now the sword was to decide. Both sides entered on the conflict with many doubts and fears, though Parliament seems to have anticipated an easy victory ; and perhaps if the king had been bolder and his advisers wiser he might have won before the Parliament was fully ready. Neither side knew much about warfare ; there had been peace in England for more than a hundred and fifty years ; the only persons in the country who had had experience in fighting were the volunteers who had served on the Continent in the Thirty Years' War.

The war was not a class war, for representatives of all sections of the English people were to be found on both sides. But most of the gentry were for the king, and most of the country yeomen for Parliament ; the manufacturers and their workers were also on the Parliamentary side. Roughly speaking, the north and west of England were on the side of the king ; the east and south-east against him. The part favouring the king was at this time the agricultural portion of England ; Parliament held most of the industrial districts, including such towns as Bristol and Gloucester in the west, and the woollen areas on the slopes of the Pennines. These towns and districts were thus outposts for the Parliament, which stretched into the king's country. They divided his forces, by



THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

-  Areas supporting King at outbreak of war.
-  Boundary at outbreak of war
-  Area supporting Parliament at outbreak of war
-  Area gained by Parliament as result of Marston Moor 1644.
-  Area gained by King in 1644 after surrender of force of Earl of Essex at Lostwithiel
-  Boundary at end of campaigns of 1644.

compelling him to leave troops to watch them, and this reduced the number of his soldiers in the field.

At the beginning of the struggle the king had many advantages. The country gentry flocked to his standard, and brought with them their horses and weapons. They were splendid riders, who had spent much of their life in hunting and other amusements, and they formed excellent cavalry, daring and reckless in the charge, but lacking in the discipline which is the first essential to success in battle. With them came their serving men, who formed the infantry of the king's forces ; but in foot-soldiers the townsmen of the south-east, and especially the trained bands of London, gave Parliament the advantage. The Puritan, moreover, was disciplined and obedient, and this was a very great gain.

The most important thing in warfare is the possession of money, and here the king also had the advantage at first. The nobility and gentry and the members of the colleges at Oxford brought to the king their jewellery and gold and silver plate to be used as money in his cause. But very soon these supplies were exhausted and could not be repeated, while Parliament was able to levy the customs duties and other taxes, and it also received grants from the merchants who favoured the Parliamentary cause. The navy, too, was against the king ; and so Charles could get no supplies of men, arms, or money from abroad. Parliament also managed to get control of the greater part of the national artillery.

Both sides were armed in the same way. The horsemen had swords and carbines or pistols ; the infantry

had pikemen in the centre with musketeers on either side. The musket was a smooth-bored muzzle loader ; it was heavy to handle, and firing was a slow business. Cannon were used, but were of little importance in battle, though they were of great value in sieges ; and in this war many castles were dismantled. Victory would rest in the long run with the side which could get possession of London ; the king's strategy, therefore, was to gain the capital. Hence when he had raised his forces in the midlands in 1642, he marched with his army towards London, but turned to fight the Earl of Essex and the Parliamentary forces who had been sent against him at Edgehill in Warwickshire. Essex was a poor general, and the king might have won the battle and ended the war had not his nephew, Prince Rupert, the leader of his horse, spoiled his chances by foolishly chasing the Parliamentary cavalry he had routed far from the battle-field. The sturdy Parliamentary infantry had nearly won the battle when Rupert returned and converted it into a drawn fight. Neither leader followed up the advantage, and when Charles marched on London later in the year he found the London trained bands too strong to be attacked, and turned away to Oxford.

The most important result of Edgehill, however, was that Oliver Cromwell, who was fighting in the battle, at once realised the important part that horsemen were going to play in the war, and the weakness of the cavalry on the side of the Parliament. He saw that something better than hired serving men and tapsters was needed to stand against the dashing charges of the young and reckless cavaliers ; and he

went back home to Ely, to raise and train in East Anglia a body of yeomen farmers and their sons, who could fight as well as Rupert's best cavaliers, and oppose religious zeal to their reckless daring. These men soon became famous in battle and the superiors of the cavalier horsemen, through their greater steadiness and discipline ; and their leader, Cromwell, now forty-two years of age, showed himself the most capable general in the war.

In the next year, 1643, the king planned a threefold attack on London from the north, midlands, and south-west, but the northern army under the Earl of Newcastle was kept in the north by Parliamentary forces under Lord Fairfax, and, though Rupert captured Bristol, the king had to go westward to besiege Gloucester, whose citizens were holding out nobly for the Parliament. Gloucester was saved by a London force under the Earl of Essex after a splendid march from London ; and in an indecisive battle at Newbury the king failed to prevent the Londoners from returning. Falkland died at Newbury, praying that his country might have peace ; Hampden was killed in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford ; Cromwell's new force was showing its mettle in Lincolnshire.

Winter came, and both sides looked round for fresh support. The king found his in an Irish army, which was soon defeated ; the Parliament found help in an agreement with the Scots. A Solemn League and Covenant was signed by representatives of the two nations. The English Church was to be reformed, and the Scots were to send an army into England. This was Pym's last work ; he died, worn out by his

exertions, at the end of the year. In January 1644 a Scottish army crossed the border under the Earl of Leven, and joined forces with Fairfax, and the two armies besieged Newcastle's army in York.

A quarrel between Essex and Waller, the two Parliamentary generals in the south, caused them to separate their forces, and Charles was able to win victories over each of them separately; indeed, the army under Essex was forced to surrender to the king at Lostwithiel in Cornwall, though Essex himself escaped by sea. But this advantage came too late to help the king, for Parliament had gained a decisive victory at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, which gave it the control of all the north of England. Rupert had marched north, crossed the Pennines, and relieved Newcastle; then, against Newcastle's wishes, he had insisted on meeting the Parliamentary forces in battle. The combined forces of English and Scots gave the Parliament the advantage in numbers; the splendid discipline of Cromwell's troops drove Rupert's cavalry from the field, and then with re-formed ranks they made a series of further charges, which broke up Newcastle's infantry, in spite of its desperate resistance, and won the north of England for the Parliament.

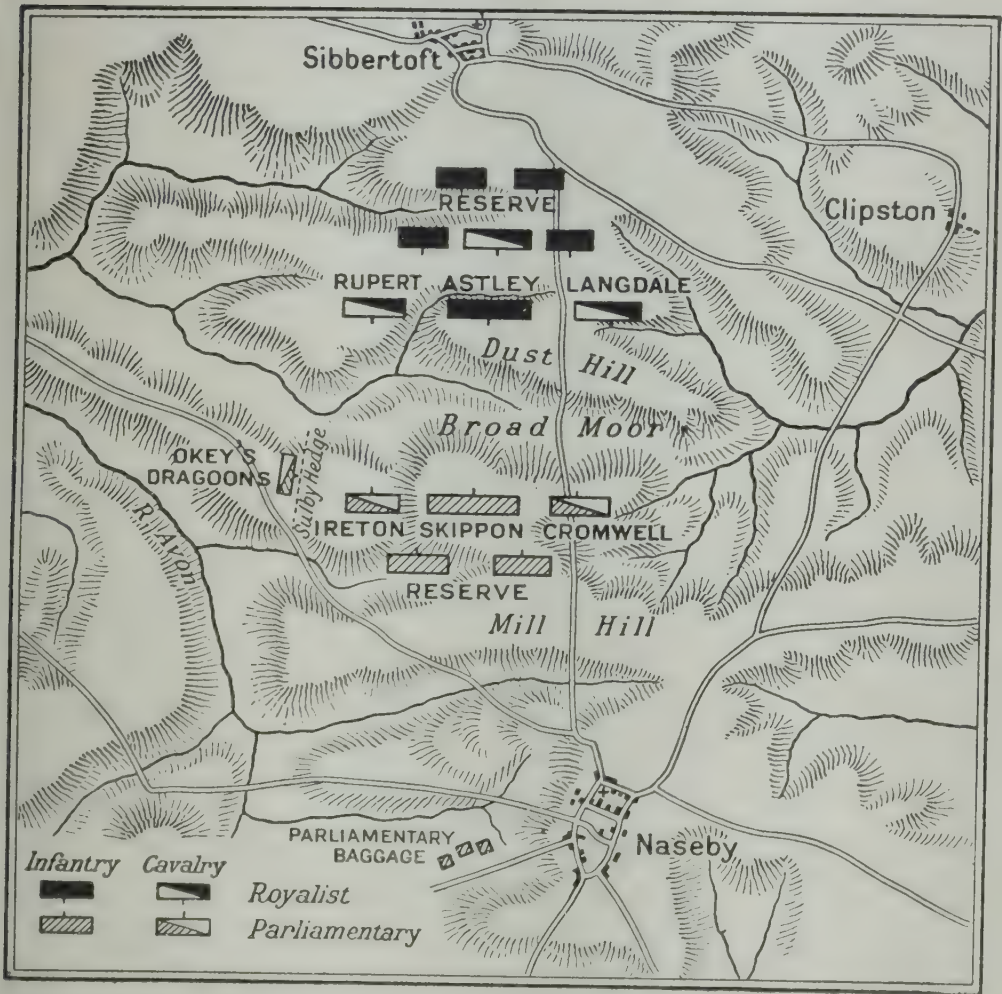
The Parliamentary army then marched to London, and with the remaining southern forces met the king on his return from Lostwithiel in a second battle at Newbury, which was again drawn. This result led Cromwell to take another decided step. He was convinced that the Parliamentary general, the Earl of Manchester, was unwilling to beat the king too severely, either because he wanted to make terms

with Charles, or because he was afraid of what would happen to himself if the king were finally victorious. Cromwell was all for complete and speedy victory, and saw that this was only possible if the half-hearted generals were replaced by men prepared to fight battles to the bitter end. In order to get efficient generals, a Self-denying Ordinance was adopted, by which all generals who were also members of either House were to resign their posts in the army. This got rid of Essex and Manchester and other half-hearted generals ; and Fairfax, who had done so well in the north, was made Commander-in-Chief. At his request Cromwell, although a member of the Commons, was allowed to act as leader of the cavalry.

The army, too, was reconstructed. Up to this time there had been no regular standing army, but only a militia, made up of the able-bodied men of town and country, who were expected to train for a short time each year, but rarely did so, and could not be forced to serve outside their own county except in case of foreign invasion. Soldiers of good character were now enlisted, and were well paid and thoroughly drilled, so that they might be an efficient fighting force ; they were also expected to fight wherever their services were needed. They were provided with a red uniform ; in the previous battles the soldiers had been distinguished by coloured scarves or pieces of white cloth, or even by green twigs ; and by the help of their banners and battle-cries. This New Model Army soon became a good fighting force ; many of its officers were gentlemen of good family ; very many of the soldiers were filled with religious

zeal ; all of them caught something of the spirit that animated Cromwell's Ironsides.

When spring came in 1645 a battle was fought at



THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

Naseby, and the king was completely defeated ; his private papers also fell into the hands of the Parliament, and showed that he had been intriguing with Scotland, Ireland, and France in the hope of gaining support. He himself escaped, and in the next year,

after wandering about the country, went to the Scottish army which was now stationed at Newark ; but, as he refused to accept their terms, they handed him over to the Parliament on condition that they received their arrears of pay. Parliament kept him at Holmby House in Northamptonshire, and soon the last supporters of the king were beaten and dispersed. The Marquis of Montrose had done great things for his king in Scotland, winning battles at Kilsyth, Tippermuir, and elsewhere, but his forces began to desert him ; and he, too, was defeated at Philiphaugh, and the first Civil War was at an end.

Now that the war was over differences of opinion showed themselves between Parliament and the army. Parliament wished to have complete control of affairs ; the army favoured a more democratic form of government. In religion, Parliament favoured Presbyterianism ; the army was more inclined to toleration. Parliament decided to lessen the numbers of the troops and compel all officers to take the Covenant. The pay of the army was in arrears, and it only proposed to pay a portion of the arrears to the soldiers at the time of disbandment. At the same time Parliament began to try to make terms with Charles. A quarrel followed, for the army had won the war, and therefore wished to have a voice in the settlement of the country.

The army refused to disband, and some of its members took Charles from Holmby House to Newmarket, where the army headquarters were. Charles thought that his chance had come, and began to discuss proposals with the army leaders, Cromwell and his

son-in-law Ireton. They offered him liberal terms, which he refused. He began to negotiate with the Scots once more, and in November 1647 escaped to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. Here he was still a prisoner, but he managed to come to terms with the Scots. The terms included an invasion of England by a Scottish army to replace him on the throne.

A second Civil War broke out, 1648, and the Scots invaded England. The English Royalists were quickly beaten; the Scottish army was destroyed by Cromwell at Preston; and the army was now determined to end the struggle. They discovered that Charles was once more intriguing with Parliament; and caused all the Presbyterian members of Parliament likely to favour him to be expelled by Colonel Pride. After Pride's Purge, the remaining members, the Rump as they were called, appointed a special Court of Justice to try the king for high treason in making war against his subjects. Of the 135 persons appointed to form the Court only 67 attended. The king refused to plead before a Court which was illegally constituted and contained only his enemies, but the trial went on, the king was found guilty, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed at Whitehall as a traitor to the Commonwealth of England.

[For Table of Important Events see end of Chap. XII]

EXERCISES

1. All boys and girls who use this book should read also some historical novels dealing with the events described. For this chapter read *Fortunes of Nigel* and write accounts

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of (a) the appearance and character of James I; (b) London in the reign of James I.

2. Find out whether any of the events mentioned in this chapter (e.g. Gunpowder Plot, the battles of the Civil War) are associated with the district in which you live.

3. Imagine yourself a young Cavalier or one of Cromwell's Ironsides, and write a letter to a friend describing the battle of Marston Moor or Naseby. (The plan of Naseby on page 305 should help you considerably.)

4. The map of the Civil War on page 299 shows in one map the position of affairs at different periods of the struggle. Make a series of maps from it, each showing the position at *one* period.

5. Write an imaginary account of the proceedings in Parliament during the debate on the Petition of Right.

6. Make a collection of pictures or sketches showing the dress of Cavaliers and Roundheads during this period. The portrait of Pym on page 289 will furnish one example; the frontispiece (Charles I) another; the seal of the Commonwealth, page 311, another; the portraits of Cromwell, Milton, etc., others.

CHAPTER XII

The Victory of the Parliament

(i) *England a Commonwealth*

WHEN the Army and its supporters decided upon the execution of the king they made a fatal mistake. Charles had been guilty of much misgovernment, but people forgot the faults and insincerities of his life in the nobility of his death ; and many who had so far supported the Parliament were now ready to accept his son Charles as their king. The Royalists themselves looked upon their dead king as a martyr and were roused to fresh efforts in favour of his son. The supporters of the army were, therefore, in a minority in the country, but they had the New Model Army behind them and were fairly united in their desires and intentions, while their opponents were divided in their opinions : some wished for a king, others for a Commonwealth ; some were Anglicans, others were Presbyterians, and so on.

The army also possessed a great advantage in having Cromwell as leader. His great ability as a general had won him the respect and, in many cases, the affection of the soldiers : he was trusted by all of them for his honesty and integrity and straightforward conduct of affairs, though, at the moment, he did not

appear before them as a statesman, for his work as a general was not yet completed.

With the death of Charles the existing form of government of the country came to an end, and a new system was necessary. It was provided by the Rump

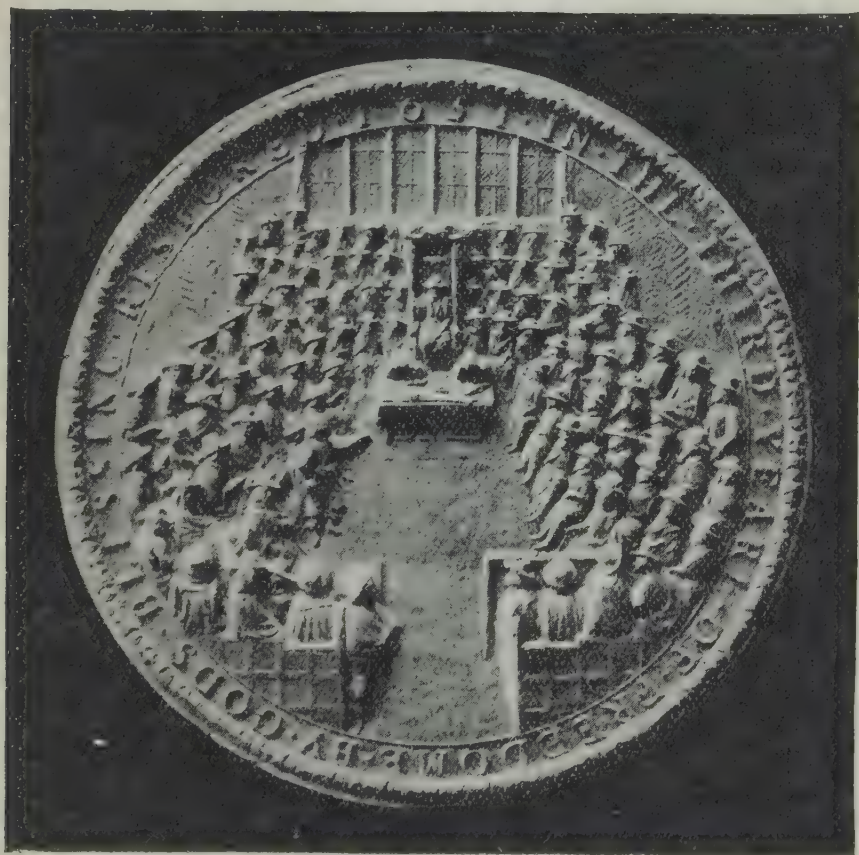


THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

(a) Obverse.

Parliament, which did away with the office of king, abolished the House of Lords, proclaimed England a Free Commonwealth, and formed itself into a Council of State to govern the country. This Council found plenty to do, for rebellions broke out in England, Ireland, and Scotland in favour of Prince Charles, the king's oldest son. Charles went to Scotland,

accepted the terms of the Scottish Presbyterians, and was crowned king at Scone. The English risings were quickly suppressed by Fairfax, and, as the situation in Ireland was the most dangerous, Cromwell crossed over to Dublin, 1649. The methods he adopted to



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

(b) Reverse.

bring the Irish into submission have left a stain upon his character. He remembered the stories of the terrible treatment of the Protestants in the rebellion of 1643, and he pursued a policy of terror in order to bring the Irish quickly to obedience. Large numbers of them were massacred in Drogheda and Wexford,

and soon their resistance was broken. There was no time to lose, for affairs in Scotland were becoming serious. Cromwell left his son-in-law, Ireton, in Ireland to finish the work he had begun, and hurried to Scotland.

The Scottish army was a more formidable force than the Irish, and its leaders were capable men. Before the end of 1650 Leslie had Cromwell at a disadvantage near Dunbar, and with patience might have won a victory. But a false move on his part, by which he threw away the advantage of a very strong position, enabled Cromwell to win one of his most wonderful victories, his "crowning mercy" as he usually termed it. Prince Charles was still in the field, however, and in the next year managed to invade England by way of Carlisle. Cromwell marched after him and joined battle with him at Worcester. The battle completely destroyed all hopes of Royalist success; and it was only after many hardships and narrow escapes that Charles got safely to France.

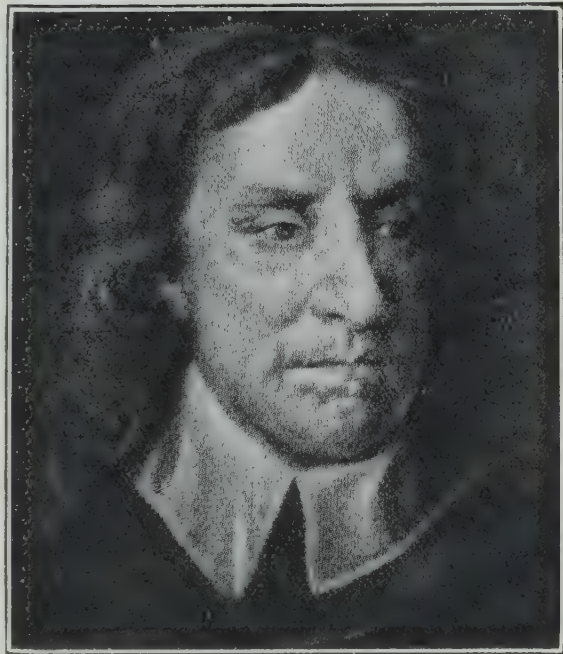
Worcester ended the work of the army in the field, and the soldiers were now able to turn their attention to matters of government. The rule of the members of the Rump was not satisfying them; their greatest measure had been to pass a Navigation Act, 1651, which said that no goods should be imported into England except in English ships, or ships belonging to the country producing the goods. This measure was aimed at the Dutch, who were at this time the greatest carriers of goods on the sea; it may also have been intended as an attempt to do something to win popularity at the expense of Cromwell and the

army. But in 1652 the Rump proposed a new method of government which gave it almost supreme control ; in the next year Cromwell took soldiers to the House, turned out the members, and put the key into his pocket.

Another system of government had again to be established. It took

the form of an *Instrument of Government*, which made Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth with a Council of State to advise him. Parliament was to meet at least once in three years and could not be dismissed until it had sat for five months. All rights of legislation and taxation were to be in its hands ; but

the Protector was to appoint the Executive, and was given a fixed revenue for national purposes. Those who framed this Constitution were trying to divide the government between Protector and Parliament, but they failed. In the elections a hundred Republicans were returned, and Cromwell prevented these from attending Parliament. In spite of himself he was being forced to become as intolerant as Charles or Strafford



OLIVER CROMWELL.

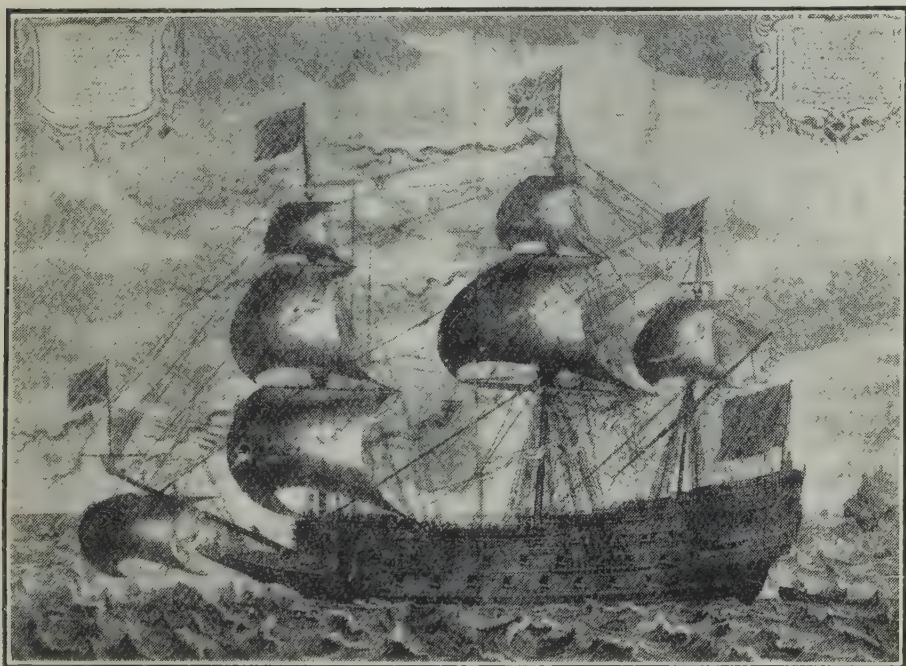
By Samuel Cooper.

(The original is at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.)

had been ; and as Parliament and he could not agree, he dismissed it at the end of five *lunar* months. A Royalist rising followed, but was suppressed ; and for a time the country was divided into eleven military districts with a Major-General in control of each. But the need of money to carry on war with Spain forced the Protector to call another Parliament in 1656, and once again he was compelled to exclude many members. This Parliament offered to make Cromwell king. He refused the offer, but agreed to an amendment of the Constitution which Parliament suggested in the form of a *Humble Petition and Advice*. By it he was given the right of naming his successor, an hereditary House of Lords was to be nominated by him, and he was to command the army and navy. But his right to exclude members was taken away, and Parliament was to control the Council of State. It was a return to the old Constitution with Protector instead of King, and with Parliamentary control of the ministers. The Parliament only lasted a fortnight, for it refused to recognise the new House of Lords, and was therefore dismissed by the Protector ; and he was compelled to resort to many of the illegal actions of Charles I in order to raise money for the necessities of government.

While Cromwell was thus harassed in his home government, he was making England renowned abroad. With an efficient army and navy England began to have a voice in the affairs of Europe. Strained commercial relations with the Dutch had led to war in 1652, and, thanks to Blake, the English had been victorious ; but this was before the days of the Protectorate. When Cromwell came into power he resumed

the old Elizabethan policy of war with Spain. Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655; in the next year Blake sank the Spanish treasure ships at Teneriffe without losing a single ship himself. In the same year Cromwell interfered successfully on behalf of the



By permission of H.M. Stationery Office.

THE SOVERAIGNE OF THE SEAS.

A Warship of the days of the Commonwealth.

Vaudois Protestant subjects of the Duke of Savoy, who were being persecuted because of their religion.

The power of England was so great that Louis XIV and his minister, Mazarin, sought Cromwell's help against Spain; and English and French soldiers fought side by side in Flanders, and won a victory over the Spaniards at the battle of the Dunes. But war meant increased taxation, and Cromwell's position at home became more difficult. Many objected to his

rule; the Royalists wanted the king back; the Presbyterians wanted their form of church government restored; the Republicans looked upon him as a despot. Plots were formed against him, his anxieties increased, the death of his favourite daughter weighed heavily on his mind; and in 1658, on September 3, the anniversary of his crowning mercy, he died, worn out with the cares of State.

He nominated his son Richard as his successor, but Richard was unequal to the task. Parliament quarrelled with the army on the question of control; the army no longer had Cromwell's leadership; matters went from bad to worse; and Richard resigned. The country was approaching a condition of anarchy, when General Monk, who was in command of the Parliamentary forces in Scotland, marched south to restore order. He was joined by Fairfax and his soldiers, and issued a Declaration in favour of a Free Parliament. The Long Parliament reassembled and dissolved itself, 1660; it had lasted twenty years.

A new Convention Parliament met, and decided to recall Charles II. In his Declaration from Breda Charles promised to leave to Parliament the question of the pardon or punishment of those who had opposed the king, and also the question of deciding the ownership of lands taken from the Royalists and given to supporters of the Parliament. He promised toleration to all Christians who lived peaceably in England, and the payment of all arrears to the army. His terms were accepted, and he returned to England as king on May 29, 1660.

(ii) *The King restored*

It might well have seemed to the onlooker in 1660 that the cause of the Parliament was lost, and the triumph of the Stuarts complete, for the people went mad with rejoicing as they welcomed the king home again. But in truth the outcome of the war was something very different from this. The English people of 1660 were in a very different position from their grandfathers who had commenced the struggle against James I, sixty years earlier. They had learned their power ; they knew what they could do ; they were more prosperous than they had ever been. The doubtful question was whether the Stuart kings also had learned their lesson ; whether they realised that “divine right” and “absolute rule” were out of place in the England of the seventeenth century ; and the events of the next thirty years were to prove that they had not.

At the moment, however, there was a strong reaction against the sternness of Puritan control, which had forbidden sports and pastimes, and condemned many of the harmless amusements in which the people indulged. Charles II came into power because of this reaction, but he came with a promise to rule by means of Parliament ; and this shows that the position had changed very much since the days of his grandfather. But when Parliament did meet it was so loyal that it was willing to do things which Charles himself would not have done. Most of the living regicides were executed or fled the country ; the bones of Cromwell, Ireton, and others were dug up from Westminster

Abbey and burned at Tyburn. The king's chief minister was Edward Hyde, who had been Falkland's associate in the Long Parliament. He was created Earl of Clarendon, and did his best to get the king to rule by means of Parliament. But Charles had two fixed ideas; at any rate he was determined "never to go on his travels again," he was also determined to have as pleasant a time as possible. But a life of pleasure required much money, and this must either come through Parliament, or be obtained in underhand ways. Forced loans, benevolences, and such methods of raising money were no longer possible. Charles obtained some of this money by becoming the servant of the French king, Louis XIV.

France was now the most important nation in Europe. Two clever ministers, Richelieu and Mazarin, had improved the condition of the country financially and industrially; with Cromwell's help Spain had been beaten, and was no longer the great power she had been in Tudor times. Louis XIV now had good hopes of becoming overlord of Europe and the champion of the Roman Catholic faith. His chief weakness was that he had no navy, and the chief seafaring nations at this time were Holland and England, both Protestant countries. Louis was very anxious to destroy the power of the Dutch and to enfeeble England. He hoped also to make England a Roman Catholic country once more; but Charles was not the sort of king who would risk his throne, either for his own beliefs or to please Louis XIV.

For seven years Clarendon controlled affairs, and the second or Cavalier Parliament passed a series of

Acts, the Clarendon Code, which made the English Church an Anglican Church once more, for Parliament was resolved to allow no toleration in religious matters either to Roman Catholics or Puritans. It gave the king control of the army and navy, restored Episcopacy to Scotland, and settled Irish affairs in favour of the Protestants. But, although it gave the king a liberal revenue, it did not give him money enough to make him independent of Parliamentary grants, and, although it repealed the Triennial Act, it declared that frequent Parliaments were a necessity.

There was much in the king's character that was favourable to the cause of the liberty of the English people. His desire "not to go on his travels again" prevented him from going too far in opposition to the wishes of his Parliaments, and made him willing to dismiss obnoxious ministers. In this way the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament was established; it was one of the points for which the Parliaments of James and Charles had fought. When Clarendon lost his popularity and was impeached, it was Charles who advised him to leave the country, and seek refuge in exile. Clarendon was succeeded by the Cabal Ministry of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. Charles was able to do very much as he wished with this ministry; though at times he found Parliament difficult to manage. The only member of the Cabal whom he really feared was Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury; but, clever as Ashley was, he was no match for the king.

In 1672 the king's brother James, the heir-apparent, declared himself a Roman Catholic. This made

Charles's position more difficult, but he felt himself strong enough to issue a Declaration of Indulgence which should give freedom to both Papists and Protestant Dissenters. This displeased Shaftesbury, who was willing enough to give toleration to the Protestants, and he made efforts to check the movement in favour of the Catholics. Charles was compelled to withdraw his Declaration by the refusal of money for a Dutch war which was then in progress ; and now Parliament passed a Test Act, 1673, which made it impossible for any but members of the Church of England to hold offices under the Crown. James resigned his post as Lord High Admiral, and many other ministers also were forced to resign.

The new chief minister was Sir Thomas Osborne, who was soon afterwards created Lord Danby. He was hostile to France and friendly to Holland, and in 1675 James's daughter Mary was married to her cousin, William of Orange. But Louis XIV made peace with the Dutch, and disclosed the fact that Charles had made a disgraceful secret treaty with him in 1670. There was much alarm in England at the possibility of a return to Romanism ; and in 1678 a man named Titus Oates declared that he had discovered a Popish plot to murder the king and place James on the throne. Oates was a worthless scoundrel, and in ordinary times few persons would have believed his story, but at this time England was full of rumours of Catholic plots, and he was readily believed. Danby was said to be implicated, and Parliament prepared to impeach him ; to save his minister, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, 1679. A new Parliament,

however, continued the impeachment and refused to withdraw it until Charles disgraced Danby and sent him to the Tower. Parliament had again established the principle of ministerial responsibility; it also passed the Habeas Corpus Act to ensure that all prisoners should have a speedy trial, and so prevent the Crown from keeping persons in custody without one. But it fell in an attempt by Shaftesbury to pass an Exclusion Bill to prevent James from succeeding to the throne. There was religious war in Scotland, where the Covenanters had risen against the persecution to which they had been subjected; and in England the elections went so badly against Charles that he was unwilling to allow the Parliament to meet. It was a struggle between Charles and Shaftesbury, but the king managed to put Shaftesbury in the wrong, and he was forced to seek safety in Holland.

Meanwhile, in 1680, while Parliament was still waiting to be called, Shaftesbury's supporters petitioned the king to allow Parliament to meet, while his opponents sent the king messages expressing their abhorrence at Shaftesbury's conduct. This led to a division of parties under the titles of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*; titles soon changed into *Whigs*, or Whigamores, a name applied to the Covenanters of the west of Scotland, as a name for the Petitioners; and *Tories*, a nickname of the Irish Papists, which the Whigs contemptuously applied to the Abhorrrers. Parliament did meet at last, but it was dissolved on proceeding with the Exclusion Bill.

There was now a strong reaction in favour of the king; Shaftesbury died in exile in 1683; a plot to

seize the king was discovered and was used to discredit the Whig leaders, two of whom were executed ; the charters of London and other corporate towns were remodelled to secure a Tory government at the elections ; and for the remaining years of his life Charles was supreme, and, thanks to Louis XIV, independent of Parliament in money affairs. This did not last long, however, for in 1685 the king died, his death hastened by the way in which he had lived. He had been, in many respects, the cleverest of the Stuarts, but he had used his position for purposes of vice and dissipation. No English king had ever had more splendid opportunities ; none had ever used them to worse purpose. Yet he had served England in a way he little realised ; he had done more to advance those principles for which the Roundheads had fought and died than even the stubborn opposition of his father to them had done. In critical moments he had given way to his Parliaments ; and by the time of his death the importance of Parliament was established, and its rights and privileges vindicated.

But, however ignoble Charles's home policy may have been, it is in his foreign policy that he appears at his worst. Cromwell had raised England to a high position among European powers ; Charles degraded her to the position of a feeble follower of France, with her king and many of her ministers the pensioners of Louis XIV. The wars with the Dutch, which had commenced during the Commonwealth, were continued. In 1667, during the first Dutch war, their ships entered the Medway, destroyed the English shipping, and burned Chatham ; for Charles had

neglected to maintain an efficient fleet. These Dutch wars were due in part to the king's association with Louis XIV, who was anxious to destroy the power of Holland and extend his territories northward and eastward to the Rhine. On six occasions Charles made secret treaties with Louis ; in the worst, the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670, he promised English help against the Dutch, and a declaration at some opportune moment that he was a Roman Catholic, in return for a pension of £150,000 a year. Under such conditions it was impossible for England to count in European affairs. Indeed, the sole redeeming feature of Charles's policy is his deep interest in colonial affairs, and his fostering care of England's infant colonies.

(iii) *Parliament Victorious*

Charles's successor, James II, wanted very much the same things that his brother had desired ; but he had neither his brother's cleverness nor his lack of principle, and was prepared to go to great lengths to gain his ends. He never realised, as Charles had done, that the people were very closely attached to the Protestant faith, nor was he able to win the people's goodwill. He was only accepted by the nation because they feared a renewal of civil war if he were excluded ; most people hoped that his reign would be short, for they had high hopes of the future under the reign of his daughter Mary, now the wife of William of Orange, and a sincere Protestant. James accepted the religious situation at his accession, and promised to protect the Church of England ; and Parliament voted him a liberal revenue, though it refused to repeal the Test

Act – an Act which James had no intention of observing.

Two insurrections against the king broke out, one under Argyll in Scotland, the other under Monmouth in the west of England. Both were cruelly suppressed. The defeat of Monmouth at the battle of Sedgemoor was followed by the “Bloody Assize” of Judge Jeffreys, who went through the west country condemning the unfortunate supporters of Monmouth to death or transportation. James’s victory was unfortunate, for it suggested to him that he could do as he pleased; and he now threw off all restraint, and embarked upon the task of making himself an absolute ruler and England a Roman Catholic country. To bring about these objects he relied upon a use of the *dispensing power*, the right to dispense with an Act of Parliament, which the Stuart kings said belonged to them as part of the Divine Right of kings; and he expected that the Tories would not venture to oppose him as they believed in the doctrine of *passive obedience*. He intended also to strengthen the army and make it a force upon which he could rely for support.

But none of these things happened as he wished. In 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes which had, since 1598, given toleration to the French Protestants, and many of the Huguenots were forced to emigrate, numbers of them coming to England, to the great advantage of English industries. Louis’s action alarmed the Protestants of the other European countries; they began to fear for their own liberties; and when James began to dispense with the Test Act and replace Protestant army officers by Roman Catholics many Englishmen were alarmed. But James

went on his way; the objecting Parliament was at once prorogued; and, after the dismissal of four judges who opposed him, the remaining judges decided that he could lawfully exercise his dispensing power. It was like James to make an unwise use of this verdict: if he could dispense with one law, he could with another, and so he proceeded to make both the Church and the Universities Roman Catholic institutions. Compton, Bishop of London, opposed the king and was suspended; a Roman Catholic was made Dean of Christchurch, Oxford, the Fellows of Magdalen College were expelled for refusing to elect another Roman Catholic as their President. Soldiers were also collected in a camp near Hounslow to frighten London into obedience.

In 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended all laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters, though most of the Dissenters could see what James wanted, and refused to benefit by it. There was much opposition, and if James had been a wise man, he would have realised the danger he was running. But he was determined to continue. Parliament was dissolved, and an attempt was made to form a new one subservient to his wishes. In 1688 came a Second Declaration of Indulgence with orders that the clergy should read it publicly in the churches. Many of them were unwilling to do this, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops petitioned the king to withdraw the order.

This brought matters to a crisis. The king charged the bishops with seditious libel; the jury returned a unanimous verdict in their favour, and London went

mad with joy. Even James's army on Hounslow Heath, already discontented at the replacement of their officers by new Roman Catholic ones, celebrated the result with cheers and bonfires. To crown all, a son was born to James, and this made certain the Roman Catholic succession, and the exclusion of the Princess Mary, for whose reign the clergy and nobility



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE ACQUITTAL
OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, 1688.

were patiently waiting. The Tory leader, Danby, joined with the Whigs in an invitation to William of Orange to come over to England to save the national liberties and safeguard his wife's succession. James now began to make concessions everywhere, but

it was too late. William landed at Brixham, and was joined by many supporters, including the Princess Anne, and James sought safety in flight.

A Convention Parliament was summoned, January 1689, and decided that the throne was vacant, as James had abdicated. It offered the crown to William and Mary jointly, and at the same time presented them with a *Declaration of Rights*, another great charter of English liberties. This Declaration, accepted by

the new king and queen, and passed through Parliament as a *Bill of Rights*, marks the close of the effort of the Stuart rulers to win absolute power. The victory of Parliament was complete. All they had claimed was won. The dispensing and suspending of laws, and taxation without consent of Parliament, were declared illegal. Parliaments were to be free and to meet frequently; no Roman Catholic could succeed to the English throne. William and Mary accepted these conditions and became the rulers of England. The arbitrary power of the English kings had gone, and in its place was a ruler whose power was to be exercised through the Parliament.

(iv) *The First Days of the British Empire*

One unforeseen result of the quarrel between king and Parliament, and the persecution and bitterness that came from religious strife, was the formation of British colonies in distant lands. The growing desire of English traders in the days of the Stuarts to share in the trade that was now developing in many parts of the world, worked also in the same direction, and it was not altogether a misfortune that the English Government was often too busy at this period with other matters to find time to interfere with these new enterprises, for this left the merchants free to develop their trade in their own way, and private enterprise proved better than government support and interference would have done.

In the days of good Queen Bess Englishmen began to follow the example set by the Spaniards,

and crossed the Atlantic Ocean in pursuit of trade, or made expeditions to the New World for plunder or in one or two cases for colonisation. But none of these attempts led to any permanent results in the sixteenth century, and by the end of that century most of the American regions worth exploiting for their wealth of precious metals had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. Only those areas were left which could be developed by hard work, and by means of their animal and vegetable resources. As these regions were situated in temperate parts of North America, they offered possibilities to persons who were prepared to leave England and make them their home; but these settlers would have to give up all the advantages of settled English life and go out to unexplored and undeveloped lands, with little or no knowledge of the climate and character of the people, at a time when the distance of those lands from the mother-country was very much greater than it seems now to us in the days of submarine cables and quickly moving steam ships. It took the *Mayflower* nearly a hundred days to reach America from Plymouth; nowadays a steamship does the journey in less than ten.

In the year 1606 Raleigh sold his Virginian rights to two English companies who proposed to colonise the shore of North America from Nova Scotia to Florida. In the next year a settlement was once more established in Virginia, under a very capable leader, Captain John Smith, and, though great difficulties had to be faced for many years, Smith's work made this colony a success. An error was made at first in choosing too many gentlemen and soldiers as

colonists, for neither of these classes was willing to put in the hard work on the land that was necessary. But this was soon altered, and the colony began to grow in numbers and prosperity.

Most of the Virginian colonists were Anglicans and members of the English country gentry ; farther north along the American coast a second set of colonies was founded by Puritans of the English middle classes, clergy, doctors, lawyers, and farmers. Some of these had left England in the days of James I to find liberty of conscience and freedom of worship in Holland. They had settled in Leyden and had lived there for a time. But they were in a strange land, and were faced by the fear that their descendants would at last cease to be English and become Dutch. The only way of avoiding this seemed to be to emigrate to the New World and find there a home where they could live in peace and freedom. James gave them permission to do this, and in 1620 these first settlers, the *Pilgrim Fathers* as they were called, sailed from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*. They landed to the north of Cape Cod, and called their settlement New Plymouth. For years they struggled on in face of great hardships, their numbers being continually increased by Puritans who left England to escape from the persecutions of Charles I and Laud. In 1629 the colony of Massachusetts was formed, and other colonies followed ; the whole forming what were known as the New England States, for they were united for common defence.

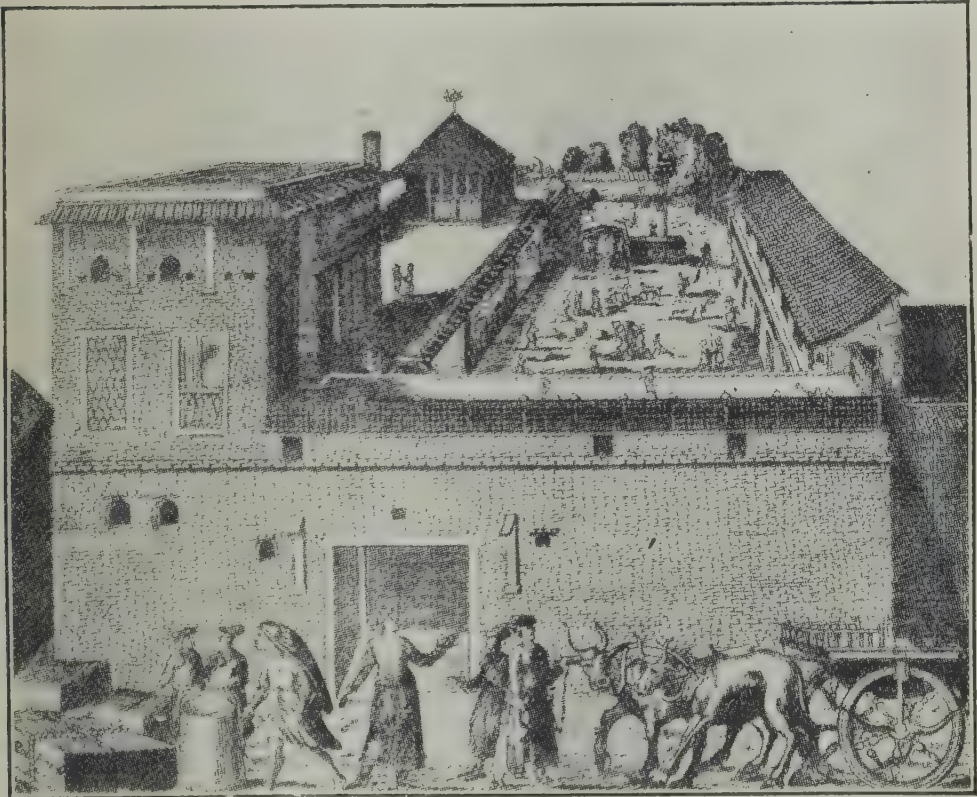
Other colonies also came into existence ; Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, planted Baltimore in

1634 as a State where colonists could be sure of religious toleration ; Carolina was planted by some English noblemen in 1663 ; in 1682 William Penn, a Quaker gentleman and friend of Charles II, founded a Quaker colony in Pennsylvania. Canada was at this time in the hands of the French, but to the north of it a British trading company established itself on the shores of Hudson Bay and traded with the native Indians in furs. During the Dutch wars of the reign of Charles II England also obtained the Dutch settlements of New Amsterdam and New Jersey, at the mouth of the Hudson River, and the former was renamed New York in honour of the Duke of York. This acquisition completed the possession of the line of sea-coast from Nova Scotia (then the French Acadie) on the north to Spanish Florida in the south.

At this time, however, these continental settlements were not considered such important possessions as the islands of the West Indies. Many of these, like the mainland of Central America, belonged to Spain, and the Spaniards objected strongly to the presence of English traders there. But trade was carried on in slaves among other things, and settlements were obtained. The first was Barbadoes, which was acquired in 1605, and others followed, the most important, Jamaica, being captured from the Spaniards by Cromwell's admirals, Penn and Venables, in 1655.

The East India Company in India and the Malay Archipelago, and the Guinea Company in Western Africa, tried to develop a trade in these parts of the world ; and the East India Company became very important. The method adopted by these and other

trading companies was to lease portions of territory from native chiefs or rulers, and set up trading stations or factories, in which the company's servants, the traders or factors, and the writers or clerks, lived under the control of a Governor, and carried on the



From "English Factories in India," by permission of the Clarendon Press.

THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT SURAT, 1638.

From a contemporary print.

work of exchanging goods with the natives. The East India Company had factories at Surat, 1612 ; Madras, 1639 ; Hughli, 1650 ; Bombay, which replaced Surat, 1668 ; and Fort William, the modern Calcutta, which replaced Hughli, 1686. The first days of the Company were not very successful ones, for they had a very strong rival in the Dutch East

Important Persons	OVERSEAS	A.D.	IN THE BRITISH ISLES	Important Persons
John Smith	Second Colonisation of Virginia	1603	Death of Elizabeth Hampton Court Conference	James I
		1604		
	Occupation of the Bermudas	1606	Authorised Version of the Bible Colonisation of Ulster	Ben Jonson
		1609		
Richelieu	Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)	1611	Death of Shakespeare Raleigh executed	Francis Bacon Coke Selden Duke of Buckingham
		1616		
	Landing of Pilgrim Fathers	1618	<i>Mayflower</i> sets sail	Charles I
		1620		
Gustavus Adolphus	Settlement of Barbadoes	1625	Petition of Right Beginning of the Eleven Years' Tyranny	Eliot Wentworth, Earl of Strafford
		1628		
		1629	Death of Eliot in the Tower Ship Money levied	Archbishop Laud Hampden Pym
		1632		
Mazarin		1634	Hampden refuses to pay Ship Money Meeting of the Long Parliament	Cromwell Rupert
		1637		
	Treaty of Westphalia. Close of Thirty Years' War	1640	Charles tries to arrest five Members of the Commons Great Civil War, 1642-1646	
		1642		

Louis XIV	War with Holland	1652 1653	Cromwell made Protector	Milton Blake Monk
	Capture of Jamaica from Spain	1655		
	Battle of the Dunes	1658		
		1660	Restoration of Charles II	Charles II Clarendon
Van Tromp De Ruyter	War with Holland	1665 1666	Plague of London Fire of London	Bunyan
	War with Holland	1670 1672 1673 1674	Secret Treaty of Dover Test Act Death of Milton	Danby
		1678 1679	Titus Oates Plot Habeas Corpus Act	Shaftesbury Dryden
	Revocation of Edict of Nantes	1685	Death of Charles II Battle of Sedgemoor	James II Monmouth Jeffreys
		1688 1689 1690	Abdication of James II Bill of Rights Battle of the Boyne	William III
	Battle of La Hogue	1692 1693 1694	National Debt started Bank of England founded	
	Treaty of Ryswick	1697		

India Company. The Dutch had followed up their struggle at home against the power of Spain by vigorous attacks upon the Spanish colonies and trade, especially in this region ; and were proving themselves capable traders and administrators. One advantage they had over the English was that better men were sent out to fill the trading posts ; in too many cases the English governors and servants were chosen through influence and not from worth.

This colonial development was checked when the Civil War broke out, but was renewed when peace was restored, and by 1688 the beginnings of a British Empire had been established, which included territory in four continents. As the colonies or plantations, as they were called, grew in importance, it was necessary to form some system of government at home to watch over them, and Charles II commenced this by establishing a Council for Trade to look after trading problems, and a Council for Foreign Plantations to deal with other matters. These Councils were united in 1675 ; and before the end of the century a permanent Board of Trade had been created to carry on the work. Generally speaking the colonies and the trading companies were left fairly free to carry out their government and trade in their own way : and this freedom of action was probably the best gift they could possibly have received.

EXERCISES

1. Examine the picture of the factory at Surat. Try to discover the uses of the various buildings: e.g. church, warehouses, living-rooms, etc. etc. Is the factory fortified? Where is the cooking done? Is there anything in the picture to suggest that the factory is in India?

2. Draw a map of Ireland to show Cromwell's campaign there. Indicate his line of march.

3. Make a drawing or model of the ship on page 315. Compare this ship with those shown on pages 44, 155, and 257.

4. Write an account of the return of Charles II, 1660, as described by (a) a Cavalier who had fought in the Civil War, (b) a Roundhead.

5. What industries are carried on in your own neighbourhood? Find out if any of them received help in their origin or development from French or other immigrants.

6. What were the names of the seven bishops whose portraits are given on page 326. Can you find out more about the life of any one of them?

7. The picture of the Seal of the Commonwealth, page 311, shows us a sitting of the House of Commons. Compare this with the pictures on pages 123, 374, and 481.

CHAPTER XIII

England Settles Down

(i) *Home Affairs*

THE accession of William and Mary made it possible for the English people to settle down under the form of government for which they had been struggling. The final victory, too, had come without violence, and was therefore all the more likely to be a lasting one. The execution of Charles in 1649 had caused a reaction in favour of the Royalists which made Cromwell's position a difficult one, but the way in which James had run away left him with very few sympathisers; moreover, there was little apparent change in the form of government except that a king who had been trying to rule by unconstitutional means had been replaced by another who had promised to rule constitutionally. The country was in a prosperous condition; wealth was increasing and trade expanding, so that there was little cause for discontent. The greatest danger to William was the problem of taxation, for the people would be sure to resent heavy taxes.

Certain things remained to be done to make the supremacy of Parliament complete, and Acts of Parliament were passed for this purpose. A Triennial Act,

1694, said that no Parliament should last longer than three years, nor should the country remain more than three years without a Parliament; the Commons made sure that they would meet frequently by making their money votes annual ones. They also separated the national from the royal revenue, and voted the latter separately as the Civil List.

Something, too, had to be done to settle the religious difficulties of the time. The Dissenters had refused the tempting offers of toleration which James II had made to win their support, because they knew that he really wished to favour the Roman Catholics. They were now rewarded by a Toleration Act, 1689, which freed them from the punishments inflicted on those who did not attend the services of the Church of England, and allowed them a share in the government. This was the beginning of a policy of religious toleration which was bound to increase as time went on; but at the moment there was no toleration for Roman Catholics or Unitarians.

Another important step in the direction of liberty was made in 1695, when the House of Commons refused to renew the Licensing Act. This Act had forbidden the publication of any newspapers and pamphlets, unless they were licensed by persons appointed by the Government. In the days of James and Charles the press had been controlled by the Court of Star Chamber; even under the Commonwealth only licensed articles could be published, and Milton had protested against this in one of his most famous prose works, the *Areopagitica*; at the Restoration a Licensing Act had continued these restrictions. Now

there was freedom of the press, and a man could write and print whatever he wished, provided he did not break any of the laws of the land in doing so.

William wished to govern the country by means of a Council containing the best men of both parties, Whig and Tory. He was well aware that the Whigs wanted to get the control of affairs as much as possible into the hands of Parliament and so curtail his power, and that the Tories wanted the Stuarts back again. He hoped, however, to play one party off against the other, and so keep both his position and his power. But he soon found that he could rely for support only upon the Whigs, and by degrees his Council came to consist only of Whigs. Hence there began to develop in the country that system of party government under which we now live : a system in which all the members of the Government consist of one particular party—the party which can, for the time being, obtain the support of a majority of the members of the House of Commons.

One of the greatest difficulties that faced William III and his Government was the question of money. The country was at war with France, and war meant great expense. Up to this time money had been borrowed in the king's name, and the debt had been a royal debt for which the king had been responsible. It proved difficult for the ministers to raise the money, for people thought the king's position on the throne too insecure for it to be wise to lend money to him. For the same reason it was unwise for the ministers to tax the people heavily, and some other method of raising money had to be found. There was already

a royal debt of over a million pounds when William came to the throne, and another million was raised in 1692 by borrowing money in the form of life annuities. But still more money was wanted, and the ministers decided to obtain it by borrowing it in the name of the nation, and making the nation responsible for the debt. In this way they formed a National instead of a Royal Debt. The amount raised was £1,200,000; and the lenders were not only promised interest at 8 per cent. per annum, but were also permitted to form a joint stock banking company, to trade as the Bank of England, and have the monopoly of government business and the right of issuing bank notes. This method of raising money proved a very popular one, and by the death of Queen Anne the nation's indebtedness was over £50,000,000. Needless to say, all those who invested their money in this way were likely to support William and his successors and not the Stuarts, for the restoration of the Stuarts might have led to a repudiation of the debts incurred while William was king.

(ii) *Scotland and Ireland*

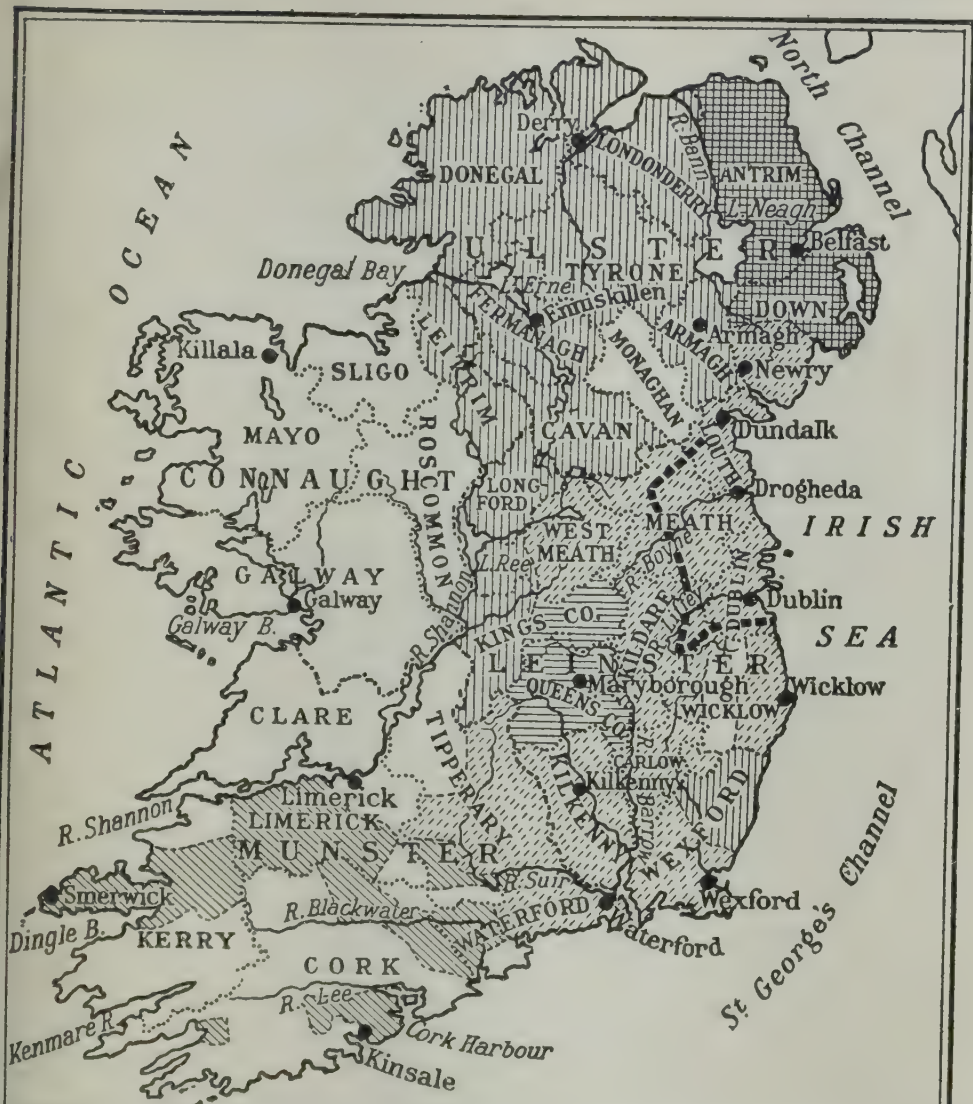
The accession of William was not accepted so readily in Ireland and Scotland as it was in England, and to understand the reasons for this we must now go back a little and consider what had been happening in these countries since the days of Elizabeth.

Ireland had been reconquered by Elizabeth in 1603, and its settlement had occupied the first years of James's reign. Ulster had been the last part of








the country to submit, and a fresh rebellion broke out there in 1607. It was subdued, and the leaders, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, fled to France and their lands were confiscated. A clever Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, proceeded to settle their lands, 1611, and the presence of James upon the English throne led to the plantation in the north-east of Ireland of many Scottish Presbyterians. This added a new element to the difficulties already existing in Ireland, for an alien race of different religion was now introduced into one portion of the country. Opposition, however, was impossible at the time, for the Irish were cowed into submission.

In 1633 Wentworth landed at Dublin as Lord Deputy and proceeded to introduce his system of *Thorough* into the government of the land. His administration was by far the best the Irish had known up to this time, and he did much for the good of the people; though this was not his motive, which was rather the building up of the royal power. He never, therefore, gained the respect or affection of the Irish people; but he improved their fisheries and introduced flax cultivation and the linen manufacture among the settlers in Ulster. His return to England to help the King in the troubled days that preceded the Civil War was the signal for a great rising of the Catholic Irish against the English and Scottish settlers. The rebellion lasted ten years (1641-1650), and many Protestants were killed in the course of it.

The treatment received by the Irish Protestants roused the anger of the English Puritans, and nothing



PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND 1500 - 1660.

- | | |
|--|--|
|  Pale Boundary 1558. - - - - |  Scottish Settlements. |
|  Extensions of Pale in 1641 |  Plantations of James I. and Charles I. |
|  Plantations of Mary. | |
|  " " Elizabeth. |  Unplanted Areas in 1650. |

that Charles did injured his cause more than his promises of freedom of worship to the Irish, and his use of an Irish army to fight in England and

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Scotland. It was impossible for Parliament to do anything to suppress the Irish until the Civil War was over ; but when the Rump took control on the death of Charles, Cromwell was at once sent to Ireland to restore peace. He carried out his work with merciless severity, and left behind him a record which makes his name hated by Irishmen to this day. His task was still unfinished when he was called away to put down a serious rising in Scotland, and Ireton and Ludlow finished the work in the way it had been begun. Ireland was once more a conquered country ; very many of the Irish were deprived of their lands, and banished to Connaught ; the lands obtained were given to Cromwell's soldiers to settle on. Nor did the dispossessed Irish regain much of their land when Charles II was restored to the throne.

The unfortunate country suffered again in the Revolution of 1688. The Catholics sided with James II, and Louis XIV took the opportunity this afforded of sending James with troops to Ireland to oppose William III. The Scottish settlers of the north-east took up William's cause heartily. James laid siege to Enniskillen and Londonderry, whose inhabitants held out heroically till they were relieved, but in 1690 he was completely defeated by William at the battle of the Boyne, and returned to France. The remains of his army were again defeated at Aughrim and shut up in Limerick. Here they surrendered on condition that all the soldiers who wished to do so should be free to go to France to take service under Louis ; and that all the Irish Roman Catholics were to have the same religious privileges as they had had in the reign

of Charles II. But the Irish Parliament, being composed only of Protestant members, set aside the second part of the agreement and refused freedom to the Catholics ; and Limerick has since been known by the Irish as the " City of the Violated Treaty." Worse still, during the eighteenth century the Protestants passed a series of laws which took away from the Irish Catholics all share in the government, and all opportunity of entering upon a professional career ; while imports to England were restricted in the interests of English farmers and manufacturers. All this made the Irish hate the English still more, and prevented an understanding being reached between the two nations.

In Scotland, on the contrary, the Reformation and the consequent association of the Scottish leaders with Elizabeth and her ministers helped considerably in breaking down the old enmity that had always existed between Scotland and England ; and the accession of James I to the English throne gave one king to the two countries. But the union thus brought about was only a union of crowns ; each country retained its own system of government and its own form of religion ; the union was felt only in the peace of the borderland, and in the absence of any fear of foreign interference of England through Scotland. In 1603 England was much more advanced in trade and industry than Scotland was, and the English traders were jealous of the Scots and afraid of the consequences of allowing them any trading privileges in England. The presence of many Scottish nobles and adventurers at James's court increased the feeling against the Scots, and

there was much ill-will between the two countries throughout his reign.

It was partly the folly of Charles I and Laud in interfering with the Scots in matters of religion that paved the way for the Great Civil War. Just as the English people at this time were particularly interested in matters political, so the Scots, who cared little for forms of government, were keenly interested in religious affairs, and were ready to fight for a Presbyterian form of church government. It was this opposition to the attempts of Charles I to impose the English Prayer Book upon them that made it possible for Pym and the Parliamentarians to make common cause with the Scots against him. The signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, was the ruin of Charles's hopes, and the Scottish army played a part in the all-important battle of Marston Moor and in the subsequent defeat of the king.

The execution of Charles I, however, caused a revolution of feeling in Scotland in favour of his cause. The leaders of the English army, who now controlled affairs, did not favour Presbyterianism in England; and this had been one of the hopes of the Scots. Prince Charles landed in Scotland to raise the standard of rebellion, and, as he was willing to accept the conditions laid down by the Scottish leaders, he soon found much support. He signed the Covenant, and agreed to accept Presbyterianism as the national religion of the country. The situation became dangerous, and Cromwell was brought back from Ireland, 1650, to cope with it. He marched into Scotland, and by his victories at Dunbar and

Worcester put an end to Charles's hopes. All Scottish opposition was now at an end. Scotland was represented in Cromwell's parliaments, which had representatives from all parts of the United Kingdom. The country was kept in order by a Cromwellian army under General Monk; and this was the army which marched south under Monk to restore Charles II to the throne.

After the Restoration episcopacy was once more established as the State religion; but many of the Scots would have none of it, and these dissenters, the Covenanters as they were called, were cruelly persecuted. They rose in rebellion but were mercilessly subdued. Religious feeling was once more aroused in Scotland; and in 1679 Archbishop Sharpe, the leader of the Episcopalians, was murdered at St. Andrews, and the King's forces, under a famous leader named Claverhouse, the "Bonnie Dundee" of the song, were defeated at Drumclog. But the Duke of Monmouth and an English army defeated the victorious Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and resistance was once more at an end.

An attempted rising under Argyll against the succession of James II was easily suppressed; but when the Scots accepted William and Mary, 1689, the Presbyterian form of worship and belief was recognised as the State religion, with toleration for certain other forms. Many of the Highland clans were very reluctant to recognise the new rulers, and James's standard was again raised by Dundee. He won a complete victory over William's forces in the pass of Killiecrankie, but was killed in the moment of victory,

and with his death the rebellion ended. This was in 1691, and the rulers of Scotland gave the Highland chiefs until the last day of the year to take the oath acknowledging William as king. One of these chiefs, Macdonald of Glencoe, delayed taking the oath until the time had passed. He was an enemy of the Campbells, who were now all-powerful in Scotland, and a company of Campbells entered the glen and were hospitably received by the unsuspecting people. In the night these visitors tried to exterminate the clan as a warning to other rebels; and nearly all the clan were killed or perished of cold and hunger. When the news reached Edinburgh there was great indignation, and the minister responsible for the order for the massacre was dismissed from his office in disgrace. But the deed has left a blot upon William's Government which cannot be effaced.

With settled conditions Scotland now began to make great progress in industry and commerce; though the old enmity between England and Scotland still remained in trading affairs. The English would not give the Scots equal trading rights with themselves in their markets, and in 1699 the Scottish merchants formed a Darien Company to form a colony on the Isthmus of Panama. They could scarcely have chosen a worse place, for the climate was bad and the Spaniards were naturally very much opposed to such a settlement in their territory. The scheme was a total failure, and the Scots laid the fault on the refusal of the English merchants to help them in the venture. There was much ill-feeling between the countries, and in 1703 the Scottish Parliament presented to Queen

Anne an *Act of Security*, which asked for freedom of trade between the countries or complete separation.

Neither nation could afford to separate from the other, and efforts were made to bring about a complete union between the two countries. After some difficulty a settlement was arrived at in 1707, and an Act of Union was passed. There was to be one Parliament for Great Britain, and in this Parliament Scotland was to be represented by sixteen elected Peers and forty-five members of the Commons. Provision was made for dealing with existing national debts, and for sharing taxation between the two countries. The Darien shareholders received compensation. The Scots kept their own Presbyterian Church, and their own system of law and justice. A Union Jack was to be the flag of the new united nation.

The Union was a splendid solution of a great difficulty. Both nations benefited greatly. England was saved from fear of foreign invasion by way of Scotland; the Scots gained a share in English trade; their industries improved rapidly and their towns grew larger. Many Scots, too, proved themselves the best of colonists and helped very much in the development of the British Empire. Two attempts were made to sow dissension between the nations and bring about the return of the Stuarts, but both these attempts were failures, as a subsequent chapter will show.

(iii) *The Struggle against France*

William III had one great ambition in life, it was to prevent Louis XIV of France from extending

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his dominions so as to include the Holland over which William ruled. Events in Europe during the seventeenth century had tended to make France the most powerful country on the Continent. Elizabeth and her sea-dogs had begun to destroy the mighty power which the Spanish rulers had built up in the sixteenth century; the clever ministers of the kings of France, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, had completed their work during the period of the Thirty Years' War. France interfered in the war on behalf of the Protestants of Germany, and her army saved the Protestants from defeat. After the conclusion of that war in 1648 France and Spain continued the struggle for ten years longer, and the final victory rested with France, thanks to the help of Cromwell's army, which routed the Spaniards near Dunkirk, at the battle of the Dunes. When the treaty was made which closed this war Dunkirk was given to Cromwell as England's share, but Charles II sold it to Spain again.

When Mazarin died in 1661 Louis XIV became his own chief minister, and at once set about making his country the master or overlord of Europe. He had a splendid army but a poor navy, and he was anxious to get control of Holland, so as to have its fleet for his own use. There was no Belgium at this time; the part of the Netherlands which now goes by that name belonged to Spain, and was spoken of as the Spanish Netherlands. Louis naturally wanted to get possession of this territory and so pass on to Holland, and the Dutch were just as anxious to prevent him from doing so. Hence William's desire

to be king of England, and so be sure of England's help against Louis.

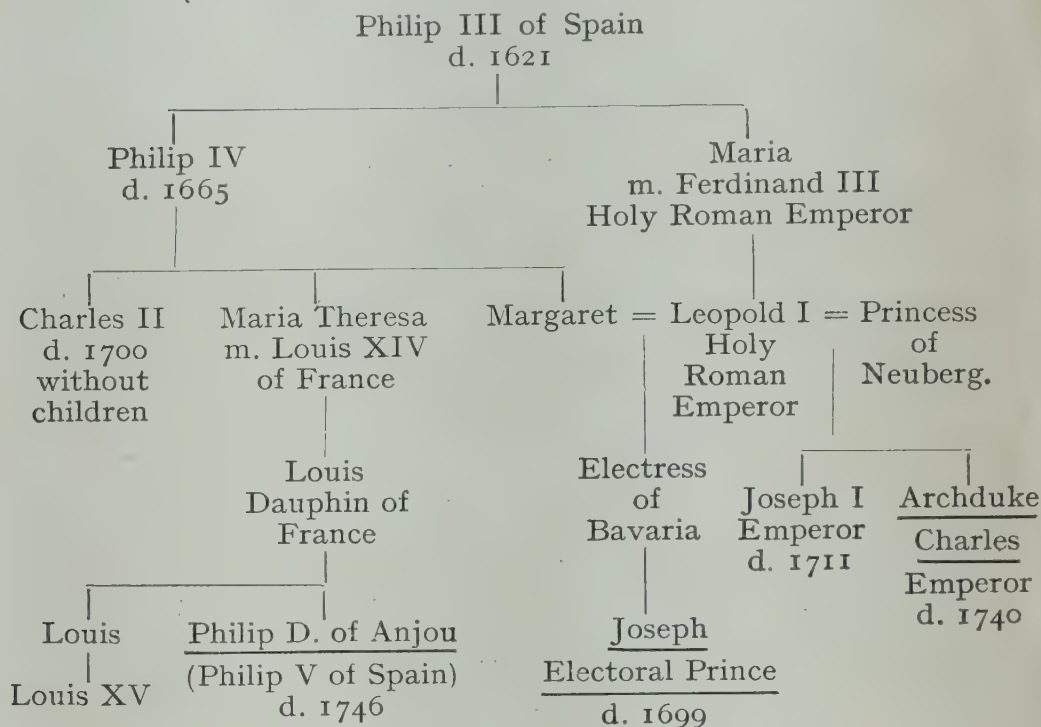
The English people were quite willing to help William against Louis XIV. France was befriending James II, and it was very much against English interests to permit a powerful nation like France to get possession of the ports of the Low Countries, for the question of control of the sea was a very important one. William, therefore, made a Grand Alliance of England, Holland, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and Savoy, against France. Louis retaliated by sending James II to Ireland, where he was beaten at the battle of the Boyne, as we have already seen; and the war also extended to America, where the English and French settlers fought one another. In 1692 the English fleet, under Russell, destroyed the French navy at La Hogue, and England was supreme on the sea. All danger of an invasion of the country on behalf of James II was at an end. But in the Low Countries William was not so successful. He was defeated at Steinkirk, 1692, and Landen, 1693, but in 1695 succeeded in taking the strong fortress of Namur, and two years later a treaty of peace was made at Ryswick, which restored all conquests and recognised William III as the English king.

Louis had been ready to make peace because he foresaw a new difficulty arising. The King of Spain, Charles II, was dying, and there was no direct heir to his throne and to the great possessions of the Spanish Empire. Three persons had possible claims to the throne; one, the grandson of Louis XIV, who was Charles's grandnephew; a second, Joseph, Elec-

toral Prince of the Empire ; and a third, the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was the King of Spain's cousin.

CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE. 1699

(The names of the claimants are underlined)



The situation was a difficult one, for, if either France or Austria succeeded in gaining all Spain's territories in addition to its own, the successful Power would become the master of Europe. William, therefore, tried to arrange a Partition Treaty, which would divide the Spanish territories among the claimants. Two such treaties were made, a second one being rendered necessary by Joseph's death in 1699 ; but when in 1700 Charles died, leaving all his dominions to Philip of France, Louis XIV took over the dominions on behalf of his grandson. He also began to move against Holland, and, on the death of James II, re-

cognised his son, the Old Pretender, as the King of England.

Anne was now Queen of England, and a new Grand Alliance was formed against France, by England, Holland, the German States, Savoy, and Portugal. The war which followed is known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

It is noteworthy because the great general of the allies was the Duke of Marlborough. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough after 1704, commenced his service in the English army in the days of Charles II. He saved Sedgemoor from being a defeat, and was afterwards one of those who aided in the abdication of James II.



National Portrait Gallery.

MARLBOROUGH.

After the Painting by Sir G. Kneller.

He next served in Ireland and Flanders under William III. His wife possessed very great influence over Queen Anne, whose close friend she was, and Marlborough was made Commander-in-Chief when war was declared against France. He was the greatest of English, and one of the greatest of European, generals. The English soldiers had learned a great deal about fighting during the campaigns of William III and the splendid courage

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and endurance of the infantry was making them famous in Europe. Churchill gave them just the brilliant leadership which was wanted to make them a great fighting force. He realised the importance of taking care of his soldiers by looking after their food, and pay, and equipment, and so he endeared himself to his troops, who loved him as "Corporal John." He realised also the importance of rapid marching as a factor in winning victories; and on the battle-fields he saw the necessity of skilfully using whatever advantage the irregularities of the ground gave him, to move troops out of sight of the enemy, and win decisive victory by a stroke at an unexpected point, after a pretended attack elsewhere along the line. His foot-soldiers were trained to fire in volleys, instead of along the line as was customary at the time; his cavalry were taught to depend upon the shock of their charge and the use of the sword to gain the victory.

His four great victories were Blenheim, 1704; Ramillies, 1706; Oudenarde, 1708; and Malplaquet, 1709. Blenheim was fought on the banks of the Danube, and the strategy which brought about the battle was one of Marlborough's most wonderful exploits. When the war started, he was sent to the Low Countries with an English army, to support the Dutch forces there. With him in the camp were a number of Dutch deputies, who had the right of sharing in any decisions he made. These deputies were very anxious that Marlborough and his forces should stay where they were to defend the Netherlands. But the French were busy making plans for

an attack upon Vienna, the capital of the Austrians, for the possession of Vienna would probably drive Austria out of the war. The Bavarians, under their Elector, had also joined in the war on the side of France, and Marlborough saw that it was absolutely necessary to check this combined attack. But in order to move his army from the Netherlands to do this,



BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, 1706.

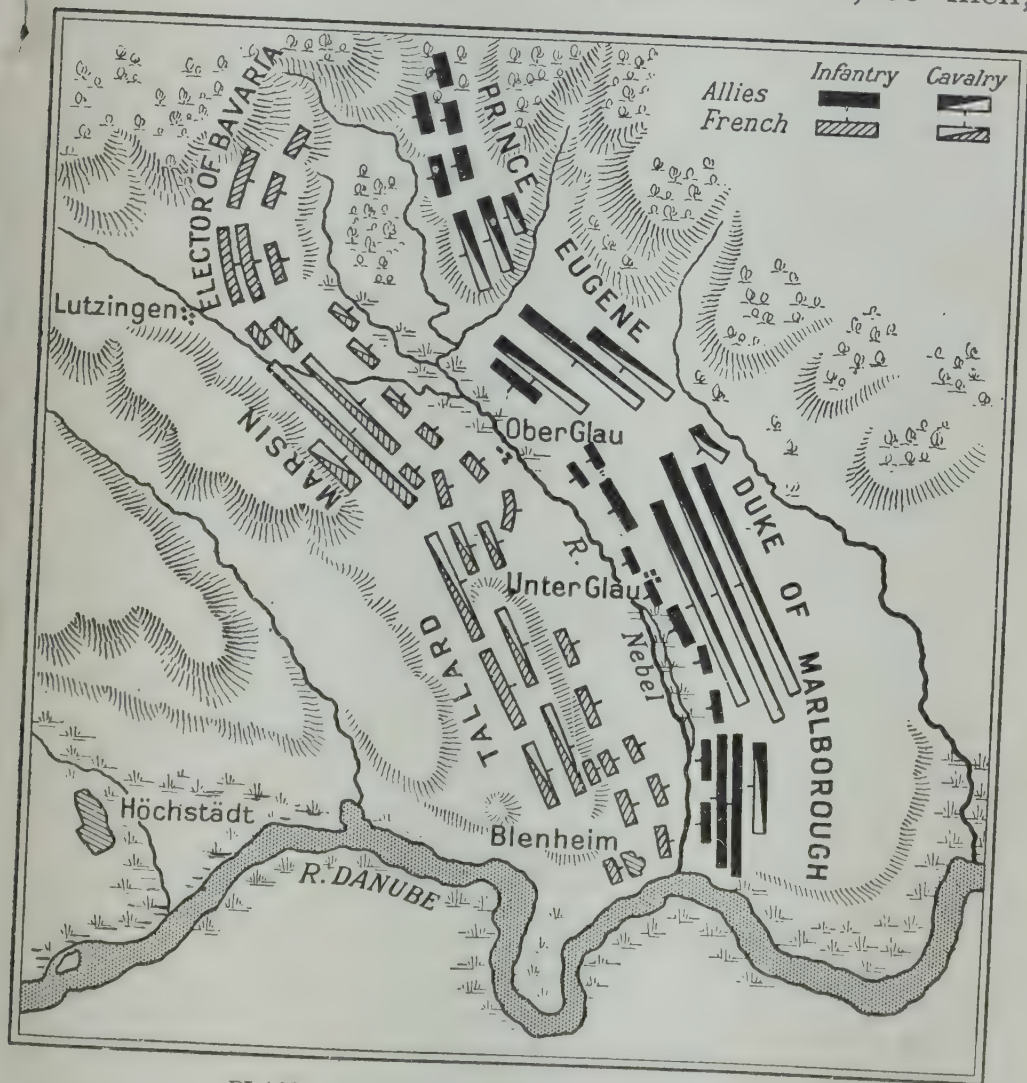
From a contemporary print.

he had first of all to persuade or delude the Dutch deputies, and also to keep his plan of campaign secret from the French. He persuaded the Dutch to move with him into the Rhine valley on the pretext that he was about to attack the French in the valley of the Moselle. He then struck boldly across Europe for Bavaria and the Danube. Here he met another clever general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was in

command of an Austrian army, and some German troops also. The Bavarians held the passage of the Danube with a strongly fortified post, but this was successfully stormed; and then the battle of Blenheim followed. The French general, Tallard, occupied a strong position on a tributary of the Danube; but a feigned attack on Blenheim by English regiments under General Cutts, was followed by a successful cavalry and infantry attack on the French centre, led by Marlborough in person. Tallard thought his centre was well protected by marshy ground, but Marlborough got his troops across, and the French were totally defeated with great losses in killed and prisoners. It was a famous victory, and added greatly to English prestige on the Continent. Marlborough's victory at Ramillies gave him most of the Spanish Netherlands; after Oudenarde he captured Lille, and France lay open to invasion. Louis asked for peace, but refused the offered terms, because they included not only his withdrawal from Spain, but also his help in driving his grandson out of that country.

While Marlborough was campaigning in central Europe, another British force had been despatched to the Peninsula, under a brilliant but peculiar general, the Earl of Peterborough, who could win battles but not follow up his successes. He was opposed by combined French and Spanish forces, and was not very successful; his successor, the Earl of Galway, was defeated at Almanza, 1707. At sea the British Navy met with better success; Admiral Rooke captured Gibraltar in 1704; four years later Minorca also was occupied. A new French general, Villars,

was more capable than his predecessors. He acted mainly on the defensive, and Marlborough's victory over him at Malplaquet cost the allies 20,000 men,



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BLINHEIM.

while the French lost only about 12,000. This was Marlborough's last great victory. His wife had been ousted from her position as Anne's favourite by a lady who favoured the Tory leaders; the Tories used the rejection of Louis's peace offer in 1708 as a proof

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that the Whigs wanted to keep the war going for their own private profit ; many people at home were tired of war and anxious for peace.

There was much opposition therefore to the Whigs, and just at this time the Government foolishly decided to prosecute a High Church Tory preacher named Dr. Sacheverell, who had preached at St. Paul's in favour of passive obedience. He was forbidden to preach for three years ; but the Queen appointed him to a rich country parish, and his journey there was a triumphal procession. The elections in the next year gave the Tories a majority ; the Whigs were dismissed from the Ministry, and Marlborough lost his position as Commander-in-Chief and was charged with peculation ; his successor, Ormonde, was ordered not to attack the French, much to the disgust of his officers and men ; and finally in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, with much worse terms than the great victories of Marlborough had warranted. Britain gained Gibraltar and Minorca in Europe ; Hudson Bay Territory, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and St. Kitts in America ; the monopoly of the slave trade and the right to send one trading ship a year to the Spanish Colonies ; and the recognition of the Protestant succession. The French kept Philip on the Spanish throne, but promised that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united ; they also retained fishing rights off Newfoundland. Austria received the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, and the Rhine was made the boundary between France and the Empire. The Dutch, abandoned by their English allies, gained the right to fortify and garrison

certain fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands as *barrier fortresses* against a French invasion. The Spanish Catalans, who had bravely supported England, were left to the mercies of Philip of Spain, and suffered very hard treatment.

The war left England in a stronger position than when she entered upon it. France had lost her ascendancy in Europe ; Spain was no longer a Great Power ; the Dutch trading supremacy had finally gone. In Germany, the Elector of Brandenburg had become much more important ; he had supported his Emperor in the struggle, and his price had been recognition as King of Prussia. The time was to come when Prussia would challenge Austria for supremacy among the German peoples.

(iv) *Social Life in the Seventeenth Century*

We have seen in preceding chapters how the religious Reformation, and the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the people under the rule of the Tudors, influenced their political outlook during the seventeenth century. This influence was also very deeply felt in the social life of the nation. England had now become quite definitely a Protestant country ; and to many Englishmen and women, especially those of the middle classes, the Bible had become the one all-important book. It was consulted by them on all occasions, and from it they took all their ideals of life and conduct. Hence there developed among them a great moral and religious movement, which resulted in that religious and moral outlook which we term Puritanism. Life

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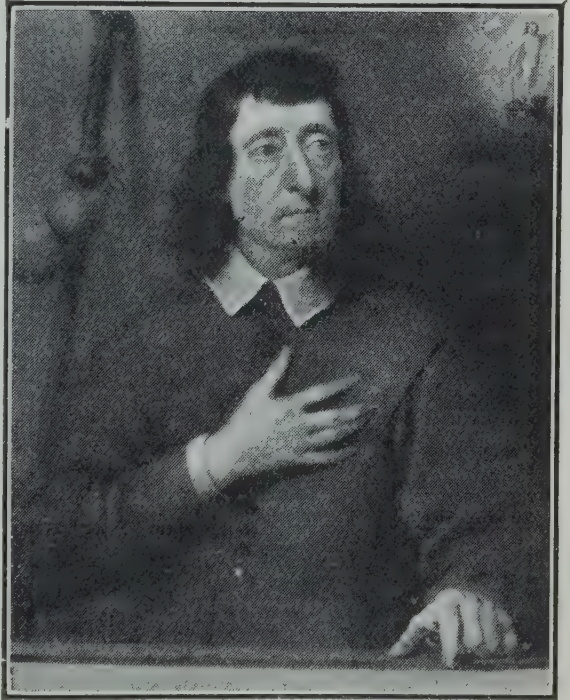
took upon itself a more serious tone. All coarseness, profanity, impurity, and vanity of thought and conduct became abhorrent. Simplicity, purity, and orderliness became the necessary characteristics of all good men and women in all the relationships of their lives: in conduct, in dress, in conversation, and in amusements. Even the happy, careless sports which had become a common feature of English life in town and country were not for them, and in their intolerant zeal were not to be for others either. While they were in power, May Day, the amusements of Christmas time, the Sunday afternoon exercises and recreations of the village green, were all abolished. James I agreed to the abolition of bull and bear baiting on the Sabbath, but wished that harmless recreations should remain, and issued a *Book of Sports* to show that amusements could be indulged in, provided they did not interfere with Divine service. But when the Puritans came to power the *Book of Sports* was publicly burned, the maypoles were destroyed, the theatres were closed, and heavy penalties were laid on those who indulged in amusements on the Sabbath day.

As the opposition between King and Parliament increased, this Puritan spirit hardened very much, and caused many Puritans to carry their ideals to unnecessary extremes. They cropped their hair so short as to gain the nickname of Roundheads, they wore the plainest of clothes made of cloth of the soberest hue, and ornamented only with the simplest of linen bands instead of the lace and other finery so pleasing to their opponents. A large Bible took the place of the sword of the gentleman, a steeple hat of

his gallant feathered beaver, a white-washed meeting-house of the church with its storied windows and elaborate ceremonial. The Cavaliers, as their opponents were termed, became still more foolish and reckless through their opposition to these things, and went to extremes in gambling and swearing, in drinking and royster- ing, in their long, flowing curls, and in their rich attire with its many-hued silks and satins and beautiful lace. The extent of this reaction was not fully reached, however, until the Restoration, when Charles II and his associates, in the general reaction from Puritanism and all

its works, introduced also the vices and extravagances they had learned at the Court of France. The king and his courtiers lived lives of vice. It was a period when morals were at a very low ebb, and this is reflected in the literature and drama of the Restoration period.

Yet it would be a great mistake to judge the English people generally from either of these extremes. There is much that is splendid in the Puritan ideal when



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JOHN MILTON.

From the painting by Van der Plaas.

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freed from the eccentricities of some of its more extreme advocates. It produced some of the greatest personages of English history : Cromwell and Hampden in politics ; in literature, Milton, the author of *Paradise Lost*, *Comus*, and other masterpieces of English literature, and Bunyan, the author of *Pilgrim's Progress* ; and many other important persons, too. Nor is the Court of Charles II to be taken as representative of the English nation during the Restoration period. The people had tired of an excess of Puritanism, it is true, but they still retained what was good in that particular outlook upon life, and it was this that led mainly to the downfall of James II.

The England of the seventeenth century was a superstitious one. Belief in witchcraft was general, and in the reign of James I many innocent old women suffered at the hands of witchfinders. But by the middle of the century scientific work was being carried on by many university men ; and in 1662 a number of gentlemen who were interested in science joined together to form the Royal Society of London, and this society did much to improve scientific knowledge in England. Among its early members was that famous Cambridge scholar, Sir Isaac Newton.

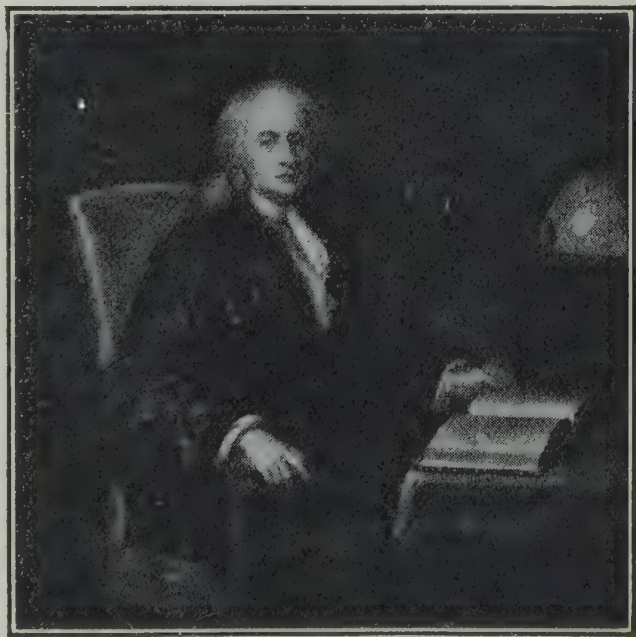
The standard of life of the people continued to improve throughout the century. The nobility now resorted to London to be present at the Court ; but life at Court was notoriously bad, especially in the reigns of James I and Charles II. The country gentry still lived almost continually at their country seats, where they ruled the country-side as justices of the peace. Their younger sons entered the army or

Social Life

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navy, or church ; or in many cases went in for trade and commerce. Some emigrated to the newly formed colonies of the New World. These country people lived simple, homely lives for the most part, widely different from the life of court circles. Dress was plainer and simpler than formerly, though wigs came into use at the Restoration.

The sheep-farming craze of the Tudor period was replaced by mixed farming of tillage and stock-raising, and the yeomanry and tenant farmers fared well and were almost as

*National Portrait Gallery.*

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

From a painting by Vanderbank.

important in many cases as the country gentry. Their labourers were badly paid, but food was cheap and wages could be supplemented by work on their own plots of land, and by cottage industries, such as spinning, in which the whole family shared. There was also common pasture in most villages, so that the labourer could keep one or more cows.

The townspeople also were prosperous, and formed a very important part of that middle-class population of which we have been reading. They still lived for

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the most part over the shop in which their business was carried on, and their houses reflected their increasing prosperity in the silver and pewter plate and glass and china vessels they used, and in the furniture of living-rooms and bedrooms. Food was plentiful. The poor of the towns were not so fortunate : prices rose rapidly, owing to the influx of large quantities of gold and silver from the New World, and wages lagged behind. The narrow streets and alleys became more and more crowded with people, there was no thought of sanitation, and the result was illness, and at times plague. London was visited by a terrible plague in 1665 ; in the next year a great fire destroyed both the plague and some of its causes, and there was no subsequent visitation so severe as this had been. Education, too, was still denied the poor, who worked long hours from early years ; but in the higher ranks of society much attention was paid to learning ; schools, both public and private, increased in number ; many richer boys had private tutors, and it was usual for those who could afford it to continue their studies at the University and the Inns of Court, and then to make a grand tour of the Continent as a finish to their educational course. But travelling even at home was difficult, for roads were bad.

The seventeenth century was an important century in the story of English literature. Much of the best work of Shakespeare and his later contemporaries belongs to the reign of James I ; Milton was born in 1608 and died in 1674 ; Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* appeared in 1678. Many of the Cavaliers were excellent lyrical poets, and most boys and girls know something



THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.
(From a drawing by C. R. Cockerell, R.A.)

of the work of Lovelace, or Suckling, or Waller, or Carew. After the Restoration, John Dryden was the leader of literature ; but his work and that of his contemporaries in drama and poetry is marred by coarseness of thought and expression. Satire is a favourite form of poetry, and Dryden also marks the beginning of our splendid modern prose.

There was much building going on throughout the period. In the reign of James I England possessed a great architect of the Renaissance style in the person of Inigo Jones ; there was a still greater builder in the second half of the century, which is dominated by the work of Sir Christopher Wren. This architect had already built many important buildings in Oxford and Cambridge and elsewhere, when the destruction of so much of the City of London by fire gave him a great opportunity of showing his wonderful genius and skill. His masterpiece is St. Paul's Cathedral, but he shared also in the rebuilding of as many as fifty-four London churches ; William III employed him also in the rebuilding of large portions of his palaces of Hampton Court and Greenwich. Most of the best work of the builders of the century is to be found in town and country houses, and not, as in the Middle Ages, in the churches and cathedrals of our land. (For Table of Important Events see end of Chap. XIV).

EXERCISES

1. Read some of Milton's *Sonnets*, and write down and explain any allusions to contemporary events that you find in them.

2. Find out all you can about the present state of the National Debt. (Whitaker's Almanack and other Year Books will help you.) Find out the size of the National Debt at various periods in English history, (some figures are given at intervals in this book), and make a graph to show its growth.

3. Make separate maps of Ireland to show the different plantation periods, using the map on page 341 as a basis for this.

4. What buildings can you recognise in the picture on page 363? Are there any works of Sir Christopher Wren in your neighbourhood? What buildings of the Stuart period are there in your own locality?

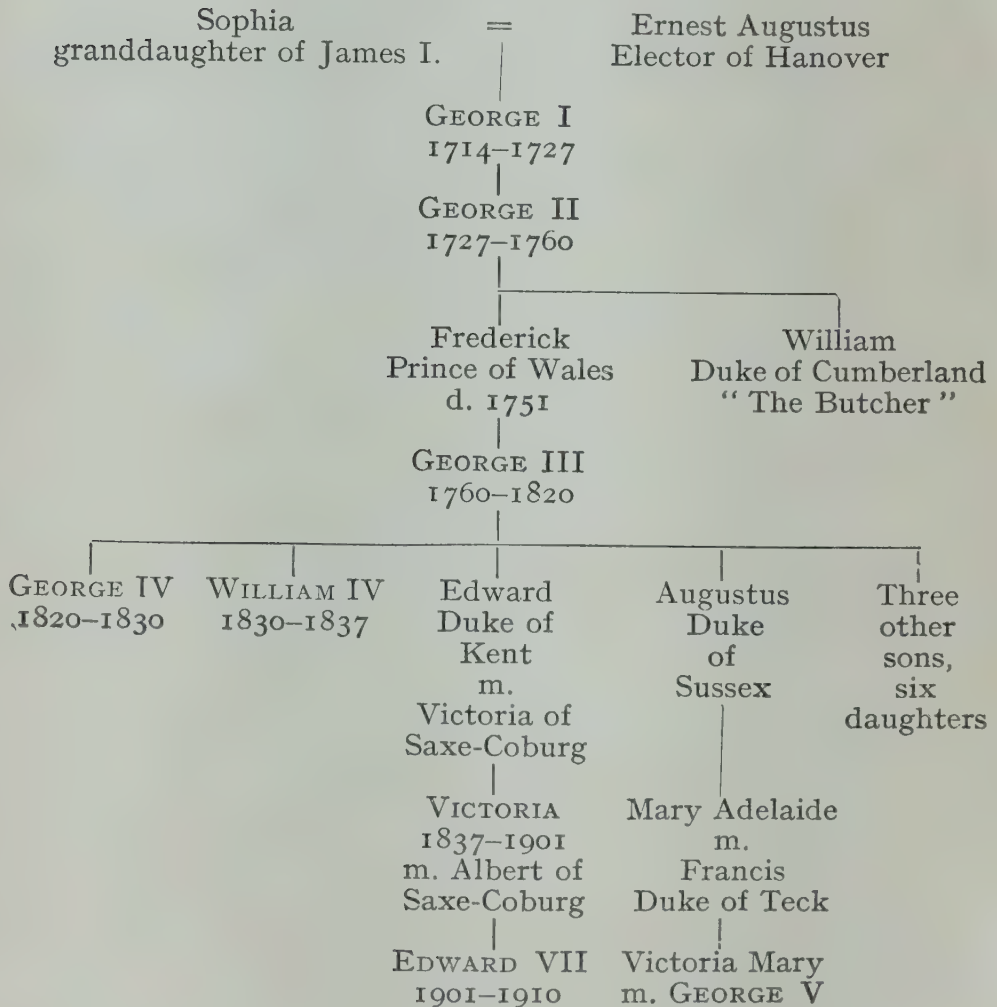
5. Choose one person famous in the seventeenth century in literature, art, or science, and find out all you can about him and his work.

CHAPTER XIV

England under the Whigs, 1714-1763

(i) *Walpole's Peace Policy*

THE HANOVERIAN LINE¹



(Continued on page 505)

¹ Continued from page 273.

WHEN Marlborough and the Whigs fell from power in 1711 the Tory leaders, Harley, Earl of Oxford, and St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, became the chief ministers. Their first work was to bring about the Treaty of Utrecht; after that was settled they turned their attention to the question of the succession to the throne. The Act of Settlement, 1701, had arranged that after Anne's death she should be succeeded by Sophia, Electress of Hanover, or her heirs; but Anne herself and her Tory advisers wished to bring the son of James II, usually known as the Old Pretender, to the throne. The Pretender, however, was a Roman Catholic and was determined not to change his religion, and there was little chance of the English people favouring any but a Protestant ruler at this time. Nor could Oxford and Bolingbroke agree on the subject, and so when Anne died the Whigs managed to place Sophia's son George upon the throne. Sophia herself had died before Anne.

The accession of George I was a most important event in modern English history. He owed his throne to the Whigs, and so he determined to rule the country by them. The Tory ministers were deprived of office, and Bolingbroke fled to France. But the King was much more interested in Hanoverian matters than in English, and could interfere but little in English affairs. He had never troubled to learn the English language, and as his ministers knew no German, communication between them had to be managed in the little Latin they had remembered from their school days. Up to this time the sovereign had presided at the meetings of the ministers: George ceased

to do this, and his place was taken by the most important minister present. On this minister fell the duty of arranging business, and reporting to the king the decisions the ministers had reached. This went on during the reigns of the first two Georges, and so the control of affairs by a cabinet of the chief ministers came into being. George III would have liked to alter this method, but it was too late; the system had been going on for nearly fifty years, and had become established. The presiding minister became the First or Prime Minister, and as such gained a more important position than his colleagues, the other ministers.

For the next forty-five years Whig cabinets ruled England. The Whigs represented two great sections of the English people: the great land-owning families of England, the Cavendishes, Pelhams, Grenvilles, Russells, and Graftons, and the middle-class merchants and traders of the towns; London, for instance, was a great Whig stronghold. Their position in the counties as landowners made the Whigs sure of many of the county seats in the House of Commons, and they added to their membership by means of "pocket" and "rotten" boroughs. Many of the old trading towns of mediæval England had either ceased to grow or had fallen into decay, for many industries had now moved to new areas. During the Middle Ages these old trading towns had possessed the right of sending two members to Parliament, who were elected by the free burgesses of the towns. No new burgesses were now made, and the old burgess families were dying out; so that some of these boroughs possessed only a few voters, and these voters were either under the influence

of the great Whig families, or their votes could be bought by them. In Parliament, too, the Whigs often gained their ends by bribery and corruption: it was the boast of one great Whig leader, Walpole, that all the members had their price; and members were won over to support the Whigs by gifts of titles, or offices, or money for themselves or their relatives. In this way the Whigs gained a control over English affairs which they kept for many years.

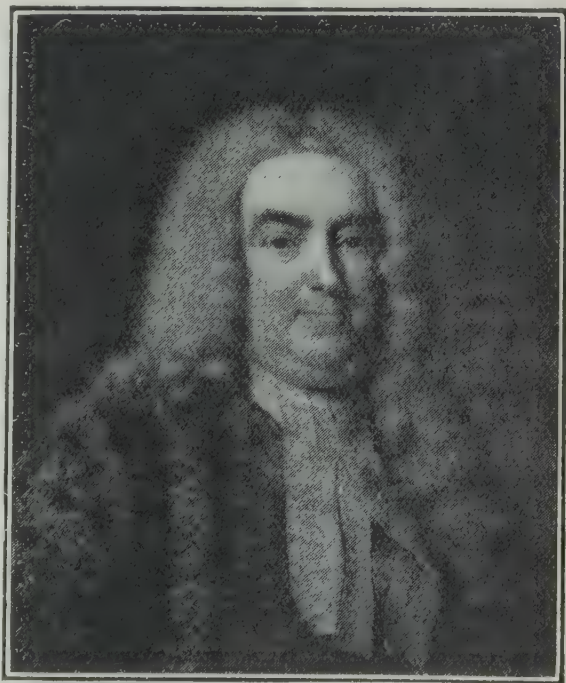
The first years of the reign were not easy ones. An attempt was made in Scotland to put the Old Pretender on the throne, but in vain. There was to be a junction between the Scottish and English Jacobites, but the affair was mismanaged by incompetent leaders. The leader in Scotland was the Earl of Mar, who was known also as "Bobbing John," from the readiness with which he changed sides when it suited him. He fought a drawn battle at Sheriffmuir with the Duke of Argyll, the Whig leader in Scotland, but gained no further success. The leader in England was Mr. Forster, the member of Parliament for Northumberland. He had the support of the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmure, and tried to raise a rebellion in Lancashire, but was completely defeated at Preston. The Old Pretender landed in Scotland to find that his cause was lost, and went back with Mar to France. Many of the leaders were executed; and, as the condition of the country was still unsettled, the Triennial Act of 1694 was replaced by a Septennial Act, 1716, which gave Parliament a possible duration of seven years, and so allowed the Whigs plenty of time to make sure of their position.

When the Tories were in power in 1711 they had formed a South Sea Company for that trade with the Spanish colonies which it was hoped the Treaty of Utrecht would bring. There was, however, much quarrelling between Britain and Spain until 1720, though after that, peace really did come and trade with the Spanish colonies grew. The years of peace since 1713 had made Britain very prosperous, and there was much money in the country with few opportunities of investing it. As the Government was very anxious about the National Debt, which had risen considerably during the War of the Spanish Succession, its leader, Stanhope, proposed in 1720 to allow all sharers in the debt who wished to do so to receive shares in the South Sea Company as the equivalent of their debt. Many people accepted the offer, and the price of the shares rose enormously, finally reaching the value of over £1,000 for a hundred pound share. It was a time of wild speculation. All sorts of foolish companies were promoted; such as a company to discover perpetual motion and make use of it; another to make salt water fresh; another to import jackasses from Spain; another for "an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to be allowed to know what it is." But soon a reaction set in, and the price of shares, including the shares of the South Sea Company, began to fall. This fall in price caused a panic. People who had bought at a high price were ruined. The bubble had burst, and there was an outcry against the ministers, who had supported the change, and, in some cases, had made money by buying and selling shares. In the crisis that followed, Sir Robert Wal-

polc, one of the ministers who had opposed the South Sea Act, came to the front, and by careful measures restored the confidence of the people. He compelled the directors to give back some, at any rate, of their gains; and, recovering as much as he could, he divided it among the unfortunate shareholders.

Needless to say, Walpole was now highly popular with the nation, and the Whigs found that if they would retain control, they must accept him as their chief minister. He became, therefore, the Prime Minister of England, the first man to receive the title; though at first the name was given him as a nickname,

because he was the controller of the Ministry. Under Walpole the system of Cabinet government developed, for he insisted that all the members should be loyal to him, and work together for the good of the Ministry. As he was easily the cleverest man in the party he was able to remain in power for twenty-one years (1721-1742). Even the death of George I in 1727 did not remove him from power; for though the new king, George II, disliked him, Queen Caroline,



National Portrait Gallery.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

From a painting by Van Loo.

a sagacious woman, persuaded her husband to retain Walpole in office, for she saw that he was the minister most likely to safeguard the Hanoverian succession.

Walpole's greatness was not greatness of character. He was a country gentleman of coarse tastes and habits, and of very coarse language. His chief hobbies were hunting and farming; and it is said that he always opened his gamekeeper's letter before he opened letters of State. He was very fond of power, and kept it by the most corrupt methods, and he would allow no rival to share power with him. Those who would not work *under* him lost office altogether. Nor would he do anything in the face of public opposition. His motto was "Let sleeping dogs lie"; and he certainly lived up to it. Even measures which he knew would be very much to the advantage of the people were dropped if they aroused opposition. The most important example of this was his Excise Bill, 1733. He knew that smuggling caused a great loss to the revenue, and to check it he proposed that duties on wine and tobacco should be collected from the retail dealer as an Excise Duty, and not at the ports as Customs. This would allow the goods to come into the country free of duty, and they could then be kept in bonded warehouses until they were used; while no duty would be paid if they were re-exported. Walpole saw that this method would also help trade to develop, for he believed that trade would prosper if it could be freed from as many restrictions as possible. But his opponents raised a great outcry against his excise scheme; the people declared that

it meant the invasion of their houses by government inspectors, and at last he withdrew the Bill.

Walpole's great desire as a statesman was to keep the nation at peace. He realised that peace was wanted in order that the nation might recover from the costs of the War of the Spanish Succession, and be prepared for future difficulties if they should arise. As the Regent of France at this time was also eager for peace for purposes of his own, a long peace period was possible, and under Walpole the nation grew very prosperous.

As the days went by, however, the Prime Minister's opponents increased in number. The Tories were beginning to accept the Hanoverian succession, and were anxious to get into power again; some of the Whigs were offended by Walpole's high-handed control of affairs. These discontented Whigs formed a party of "Patriots," who attacked him for his corrupt methods of control. Many of these "Patriots" were young men of great ability: one of the most famous was a clever young orator named William Pitt.

Walpole remained in power, however, in spite of all their efforts, though in 1737 the queen died, and he lost his best supporter. His downfall came at last, because the people were becoming tired of his peace policy. In 1739 commercial relations with Spain were once more very strained. The Spaniards had always been annoyed at those terms of the Treaty of Utrecht which gave British merchants rights of trade with their American possessions; nor had the British traders acted fairly on their trading visits. Walpole was trying to settle all difficulties peacefully, when

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public opinion was aroused by a certain Captain Jenkins, who showed an ear which he said had been cut from his head by a Spanish official. There was a cry for war with Spain, and Walpole was forced to



HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1742.

Walpole is addressing the House. The Speaker is the Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow.

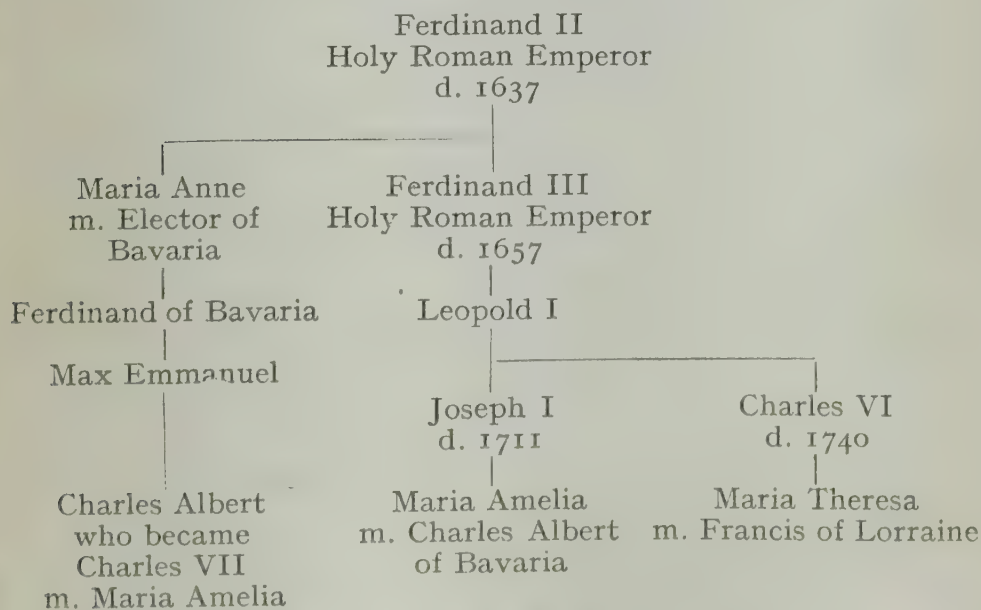
give way. The nation was mad with joy when he declared war. "They are ringing their bells now, but they will be wringing their hands soon," was his caustic comment. But Walpole in his days of peace had not prepared for war, nor was he the kind of minister who could direct the nation in time of war. The first results of the war were therefore failures and he was

forced to resign office in 1742. He was made Earl of Orford, and died three years later. His policy of friendship with Spain and France was at an end, and war with those nations was now commenced.

(ii) *Renewal of the Struggle with France*

The war with Spain, which Jenkins's ear had helped to bring about, was soon merged in a much larger contest. Some years previously the Emperor Charles, seeing that he would die without a son to succeed him, had made great efforts to secure the succession to the Austrian throne of his daughter, Maria Theresa, although the Salic law forbade the succession of a

THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION, 1740



Compare table on page 350 for Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and Joseph I. Max Emmanuel was the Elector of Bavaria who fought on the side of the French at Blenheim. Charles VI was the Archduke Charles of the War of the Spanish Succession.

woman. He had asked the chief European rulers to guarantee the succession of his daughter by an agreement known as the Pragmatic Sanction. In 1740 he died, and several claimants at once arose to dispute his daughter's claim. Charles Albert of Bavaria, who was likely to be the new Holy Roman Emperor, claimed Austria and Bohemia ; Frederick II of Prussia demanded Silesia ; and there were other claimants also.

France saw in the war an opportunity of gaining additional territory on her north-eastern frontier, and decided to support Bavaria and Prussia ; England therefore supported Austria. For this war marks the opening of a great struggle between France and Britain for supremacy in India and North America. There had been some question of colonial supremacy during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) ; but in that war England was fighting mainly to safeguard the Protestant succession at home. Now, in 1740, thanks to Walpole, there was really very little danger that the Stuarts would come back to the English throne ; and the wealth gained by the merchants in the prosperous years of peace could be used to decide whether England or France should hold a great Colonial Empire.

Carteret, Walpole's successor, saw that the great danger to Europe was the possible predominance of France ; and he set to work to win Prussia and Bavaria from their alliance with the French. The young Frederick of Prussia had at his command a well-trained army which his father had organised, and quickly overran Silesia. But Carteret persuaded Maria to let him keep the province as the price of

peace between Prussia and Austria, and so Frederick was detached from the French alliance, 1742. The English and Austrian combined forces defeated the French at Dettingen in the next year: it was the last occasion on which an English king fought on the battle-field. Spain now joined in the war, and made a *Family Compact* with France, by which France promised her aid in the recovery of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Georgia for Spain. Frederick of Prussia once more attacked Austria. So far only Hanover and not England also was supposed to be at war; but France now declared war on England, and the struggle was extended to the colonies. An English army was defeated in the Austrian Netherlands at Fontenoy, 1745, a defeat due partly to the refusal of the allied soldiers to assist, partly to the splendid work of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. The splendid heroism of the British troops in this battle showed that they were capable of almost anything.

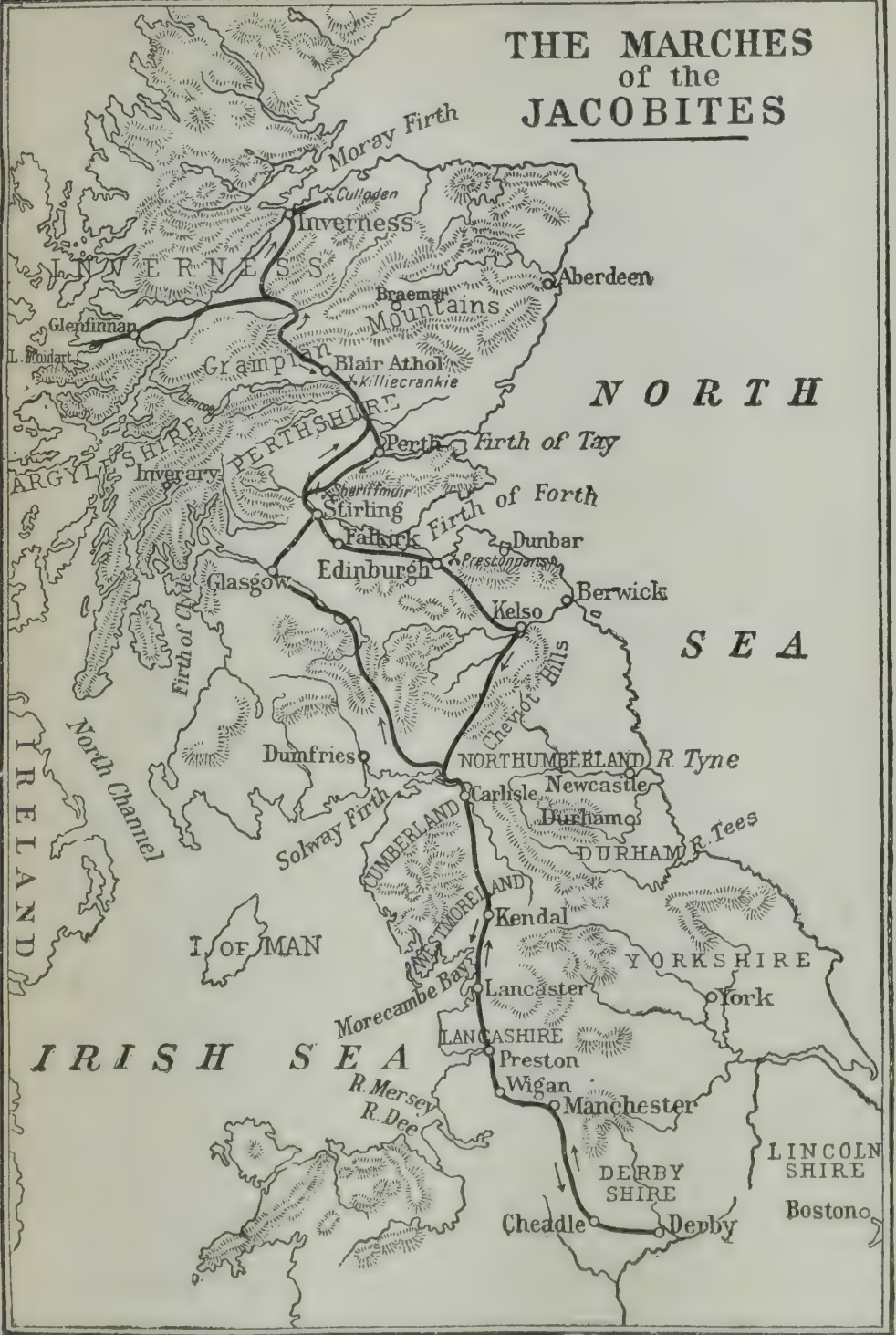
Carteret had by now given place to the brothers Pelham, but matters were going badly for England, and there was depression at home. It seemed as if the country had neither capable statesmen nor capable generals; and France saw an opportunity to strike a counter-blow by helping the Young Pretender to invade Scotland. This young prince, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," had much to commend him to the Scots, for he was young and good-looking, and had an attractive personality. He started on his forlorn hope in 1745, accompanied by some French ships; but these were dispersed in a storm, and he landed at Moidart, on the west coast of Scotland, with seven supporters,

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the "Seven Men of Moidart." The clansmen responded to his call, especially after Lochiel of Cameron had joined him; and soon he moved south with his Highland forces, drove back some dragoons who opposed him at Coltbrig, and entered Edinburgh in triumph. The incompetent English general, Sir John Cope, had taken refuge at Inverness; but he now moved by sea to Dunbar to defend Edinburgh, and was totally defeated at Prestonpans. The English army fled before the wild claymore charge of the Highlanders, and Cope led the flight all the way to Berwick.

The prince wasted valuable time by staying to hold his court at Holyrood; for the English forces were on the Continent, and the country was almost emptied of regular troops. Moreover, in spite of his victory, the Lowlanders were not joining his army; the Act of Union had done its work, and the prosperous merchants of the Clyde region were not prepared to risk their prosperity for the last of the Stuarts. At length the prince moved on with his forces and crossed the border. But he received no welcome from the English people, and when he reached Derby without finding the support he had expected to find, his followers began to lose heart, and it was decided to retreat. The prince himself was in favour of marching on, though he would probably have been unsuccessful had he done so, for his soldiers were beginning to desert him. There was certainly little to oppose his entry into London, where there was much panic at the news of his approach. He reached Scotland unmolested, passed through Edinburgh, and at Falkirk defeated an English force which tried to bar his passage to the

THE MARCHES of the JACOBITES



Reproduced from Bradshaw's "A Short History of Modern England"

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Highlands, 1746. There was much discontent in England because the king refused to allow William Pitt, the one capable Whig leader, to join the Ministry, because of Pitt's former outspoken references to Hanover and the Hanoverians. The king was now forced to give way, and Pitt entered the Ministry.

Meanwhile troops had been brought back from the Continent with their general, the Duke of Cumberland, the second son of the king. He marched in pursuit of Prince Charles, training his troops at the same time in the best methods of resisting the attacks of the Highlanders. The forces met at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, on April 16, 1746; and the Highland army was totally defeated. Cumberland's use of the victory earned him the title of "The Butcher." A price was set upon the Young Pretender's head, but, thanks to the devotion of his Highland supporters, and especially of Flora Macdonald, he got back safely to France. The Stuart hopes were now at an end. The Highland clans were treated with vindictive cruelty. They were disarmed and forbidden to wear their national dress; their clan lands were taken from them and handed over to their chiefs, as compensation to the chiefs for the loss of their rights of control over the clan, which they now lost.

While these events had been happening, other important events had also been occurring elsewhere. Maria Theresa and Frederick made peace once more, Frederick still keeping Silesia. Madras was captured by the French, but English colonists captured Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. The French fleet were defeated off Cape Finisterre and again off Ushant.

Both sides were tired of a war which was costing heavily but showed no prospect of bringing about any definite result, and in 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. Madras was exchanged by the French for Louisburg as part of a general restoration of conquests. The only person who had really gained in the struggle was Frederick of Prussia, who had received Silesia from Austria. The treaty was a truce rather than a peace ; and it was obvious that the struggle would soon be renewed.

The treaty had said that the French and British were to restore their conquests to the state in which they were before the war, but it had made little attempt to define what that state was ; and very soon there were quarrels in America about the position of the boundaries between the French and British colonial territories. Maria Theresa was anxious to get Silesia back again, and thought Britain had betrayed her in persuading her to let Frederick retain it. Yet for seven years, 1748 to 1756, the peace remained ; in Europe, at any rate, seven of the happiest years the people had known for a very long time. Yet preparations were being made for war all the time, and diplomatists were busily engaged in trying to form new alliances for warlike purposes.

During these years of peace and prosperity much excitement was aroused by a decision of the Government in September 1752 to alter the Calendar, which sadly needed reform. Britain was still using the old calendar of the days of Julius Cæsar ; but this had been based on the idea that the length of the year was 365½ days. This was a little too long, and in the course of

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the centuries the error had reached eleven days. Other countries had corrected their mistake at the suggestion of Pope Gregory XIII in or after 1582, but Protestant England had never done so. The change was now made, but the people cried out against it, thinking they had been robbed of eleven days' life and eleven days' wages.

In 1756 Austria and France entered into an alliance by which France was to receive the Austrian Netherlands, and the two nations were to help one another in case of war; while Austria also made an agreement with Russia to attack Frederick of Prussia. Britain and Prussia, therefore, entered into an alliance against these Powers. War followed, and Britain found herself unprepared for it. The nation was actually in terror of invasion. Pelham had died in 1754; his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, was quite incapable of directing a great war; and the people of England cried out for Pitt. Pitt knew that the colonies and the great world trade that British merchants had built up were in danger unless France could be defeated. "I know that I can save England and that nobody else can," he said. Newcastle at first opposed his appointment, but finally consented on condition that Pitt should deal only with foreign affairs. Pitt's idea was "to win Canada on the banks of the Elbe." By liberal subsidies to Frederick of Prussia, he intended to keep France and her allies so busily employed in Europe that they would be unable to send any help to their colonies oversea. He could then reinforce the British colonists, and so defeat the French settlers and gain their colonies for Britain.

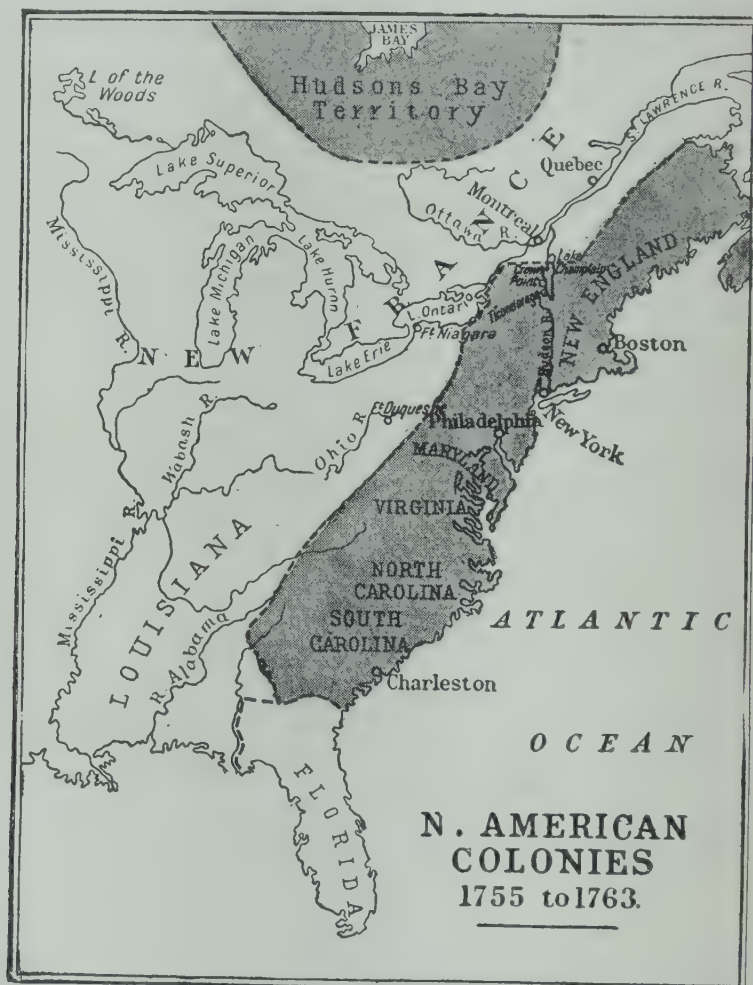
Frederick the Great proved a most valuable ally.

He was the first great European general since Marlborough ; he was splendidly served by his soldiers ; and, in spite of the number of his opponents, who were able on occasion to inflict severe defeats upon him, he won some marvellous and magnificent victories over French and Austrians and Russians. Two of his most famous victories were won over the Austrians at Rossbach and Leuthen respectively in 1757. While Pitt sent money and supplies to Frederick he was building up a powerful navy also. At the beginning of the war the French had captured Minorca, and Admiral Byng was tried by court-martial and shot, for not engaging in combat with a much superior French force. In 1758 the navy was victorious at Cartagena and Aix, landings were made on the French coast and much French shipping was destroyed. In the next year Admiral Boscawen defeated the French fleet off Lagos and Hawke won another victory at Quiberon Bay ; and these successes gave Britain complete control of the sea.

It was this control of the sea that enabled Pitt to ensure the Imperial supremacy of Britain, by taking away France's colonies from her. Both nations had established colonies or trading stations in Africa, India, North America, and the West Indies. The British colonies along the sea-coast of North America had benefited considerably by Walpole's good work for trade ; the number of the colonists was increasing, and the time was approaching when it would be necessary to cross the Alleghanies and seek additional territory inland. But French pioneers were moving along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, and

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if these movements succeeded the British would be hemmed in along the coast strip, and all expansion inland prevented. Hence there were many quarrels between the colonists during the years of peace. The



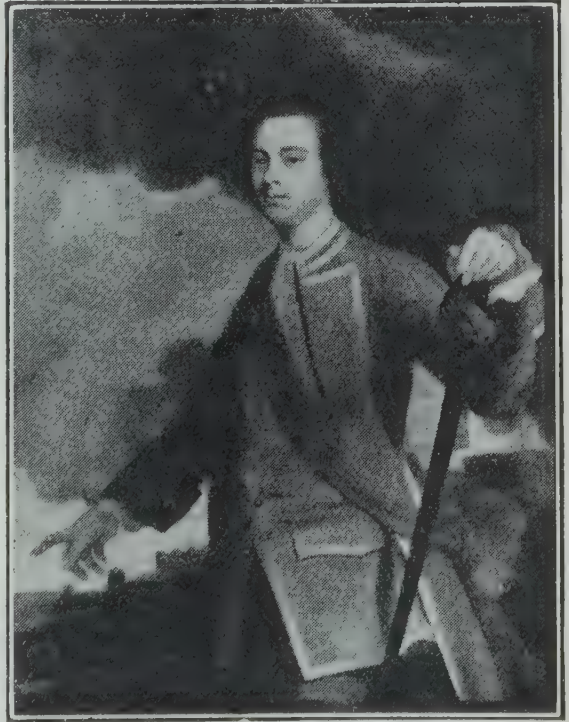
Reproduced from Bradshaw's "A Short History of Modern England"

French penetrated into the Ohio valley by way of the Great Lakes, and established a strong system of forts or block-houses along their frontier, the farthest south being Fort Duquesne. The British colonists sent an expedition to demand the withdrawal of the French from the Ohio valley, but it was defeated.

Its leader was a capable young officer named George Washington. In 1755 a British force under General Braddock was sent out to help the colonists. Braddock marched on Fort Duquesne, but was defeated and killed. He received little help from the colonists ; but his failure was mainly due to his ignorance of colonial methods of fighting, which were totally different from the methods he had learned on European battle-fields.

When the Seven Years' War broke out, the Marquis Montcalm, a very capable man, went out to lead the French and gained some important successes. But with Pitt's advent to office

the situation changed. Pitt knew how to choose the right men for the work, and he sent out to America two capable young generals, Amherst and Wolfe, with a fleet under Admiral Boscawen. In 1758 Louisburg was captured and dismantled and the French retired. Fort Duquesne was occupied by a colonial force and renamed Pittsburg in honour of Pitt. The next year was Pitt's famous "year



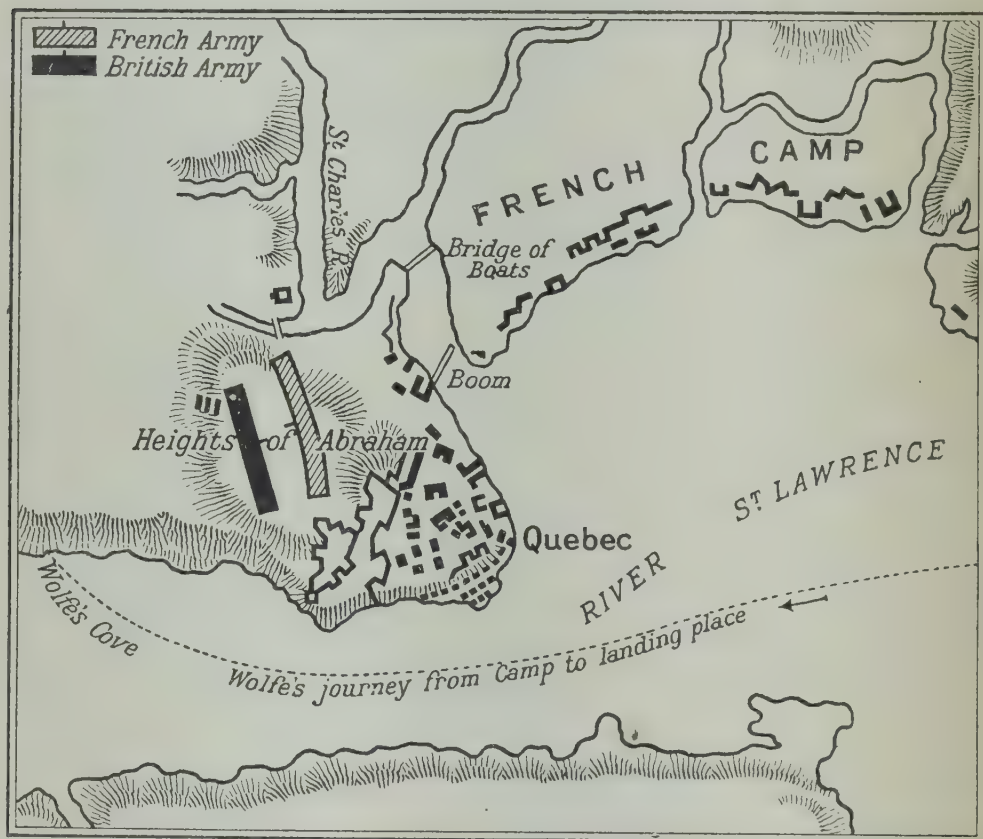
National Portrait Gallery.

GENERAL WOLFE.

From a painting by J. Highmore.

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of victories" in all parts of the world; and one of these victories, the battle of the Heights of Abraham, added Canada to the Empire. A threefold attack on Quebec from west and south and east had been planned, and the attack up the St. Lawrence from the east was



WOLFE'S QUEBEC CAMPAIGN 1759.

in the hands of Wolfe. The story of his success is well known. A direct attack on the town was impossible, for its defences stood high above the river, and Wolfe was almost despairing of success, when a path in the side of the cliff was discovered. A night expedition was arranged, and the British forces gained the summit of the plateau without discovery. In

the battle that followed both commanders were killed, but victory was with the British, and Quebec surrendered. A year later all Canada was lost to France.

The struggle between France and Britain was carried on also in India. This country had been for a century under the control of the Great Moguls, who ruled at Delhi; but their power was declining, and the last Great Mogul Emperor, Aurungzebe, had died in 1707. His empire now began to break up into a number of States, independent of Delhi. The States in the south were very much at the mercy of robber tribes of the north-west Deccan, known as Mahrattas; and a clever French governor of Pondicherry had gained much power among the natives by defending them against Mahratta attacks. His successor, Dupleix, followed up his work and also created a native army drilled and directed by Frenchmen. The English followed his example, and in this way the Sepoy armies came into being. In 1746 Dupleix captured Madras and moved on to Fort St. David. It was for his share in the defence of this place that Robert Clive received a commission in the army of the East India Company, and ceased to be a writer in the Company's service. In 1751 the French laid siege to Trichinopoly, and its fall seemed certain when Clive gained permission to create a diversion by an attack on Arcot, the capital of the native prince whom the French were supporting. With two hundred British and three hundred Sepoy troops, Clive took Arcot and held it against a French force until he was relieved. His success won the admiration of the natives. They no longer looked upon the English as traders, who were unable to

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fight ; the Mahrattas, too, were now willing to form an alliance with them. Soon afterwards Dupleix was recalled in disgrace.

When the Seven Years' War broke out there was serious trouble in Bengal through the action of its ruler, Surajah Dowlah. The story of his imprisonment of 146 persons in the Black Hole of Calcutta is known to all. Clive was sent to avenge the crime and won a great victory at Plassey, 1757. Three years later Sir Eyre Coote defeated the French leader, Lally, at Wandewash in the Carnatic. This was the end of French power in India. The East India Company could claim control of the lower Ganges and of the south of the peninsula.

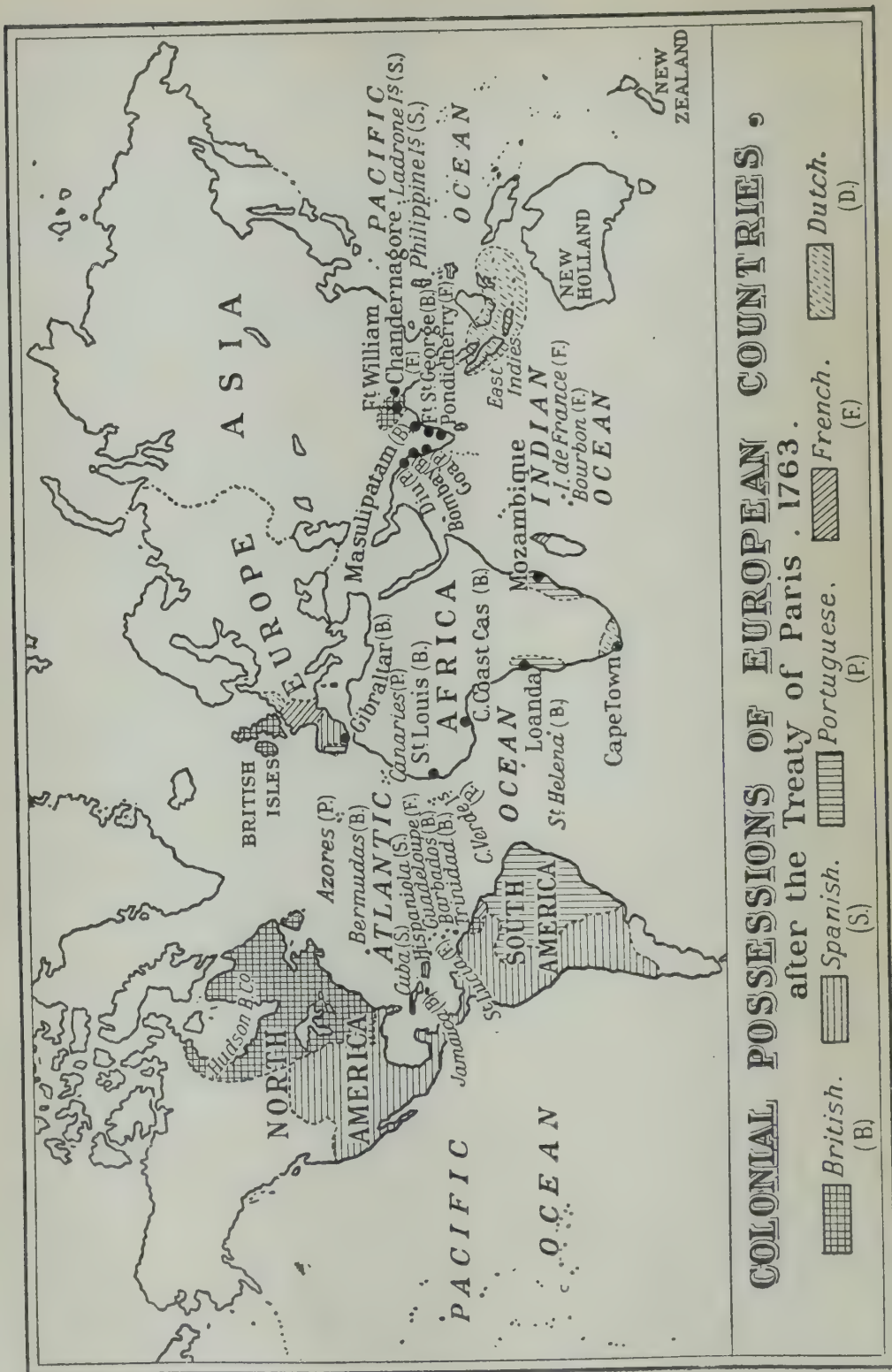
But in the midst of the successes that Pitt was gaining in all parts of the world George II died, 1760. His successor, George III, was determined to end the power of the Whigs and rule Britain himself. He played upon Newcastle's jealousy of Pitt to get Pitt deprived of his office ; a little later Newcastle also was forced to resign. Pitt had resigned because the Cabinet would not declare war on Spain, who was preparing to join the war on the side of France. Spain declared war soon afterwards, and Havana and Manila were taken from her. But the new king was determined on peace, so that he might concentrate on the task of making himself a real and not a nominal king of Britain. Peace was therefore made in the Treaty of Paris, 1763. It gave Britain Canada and Cape Breton Island and extended the colonies to the Mississippi, and Florida and Minorca were taken from Spain. But many conquests were restored. Worse still,

Frederick the Great had been left in the lurch when Pitt resigned. His subsidies were stopped, and peace was made without consulting him or his interests. France and Spain were eager for revenge, should the opportunity offer; the northern European States were jealous of England's trading and colonial developments; Prussia was angry at what she deemed her betrayal. Britain was left with scarcely a friend in Europe.

(iii) *Colonial Expansion. The First British Empire*

The story of the wars narrated in the preceding section is also the story of the expansion of the British Empire. All through the seventeenth century fresh colonists were journeying across the Atlantic to settle in the New World, and their numbers were largely increased by the transportation thither of persons convicted of offences against the laws of England. These persons were known as "indentured labourers"; they were forced to serve a master as apprentices for a certain number of years, and then, if their conduct had been good, could obtain a piece of land and become free settlers themselves. Many of them, however, were very badly treated by their masters. In the course of the Civil War and reconquest of Ireland, Cromwell sent many of these labourers across the sea to America and the West Indies; many hundreds were punished in the same way in the "Bloody Assize" of Judge Jeffreys, which followed the battle of Sedgemoor, 1685.

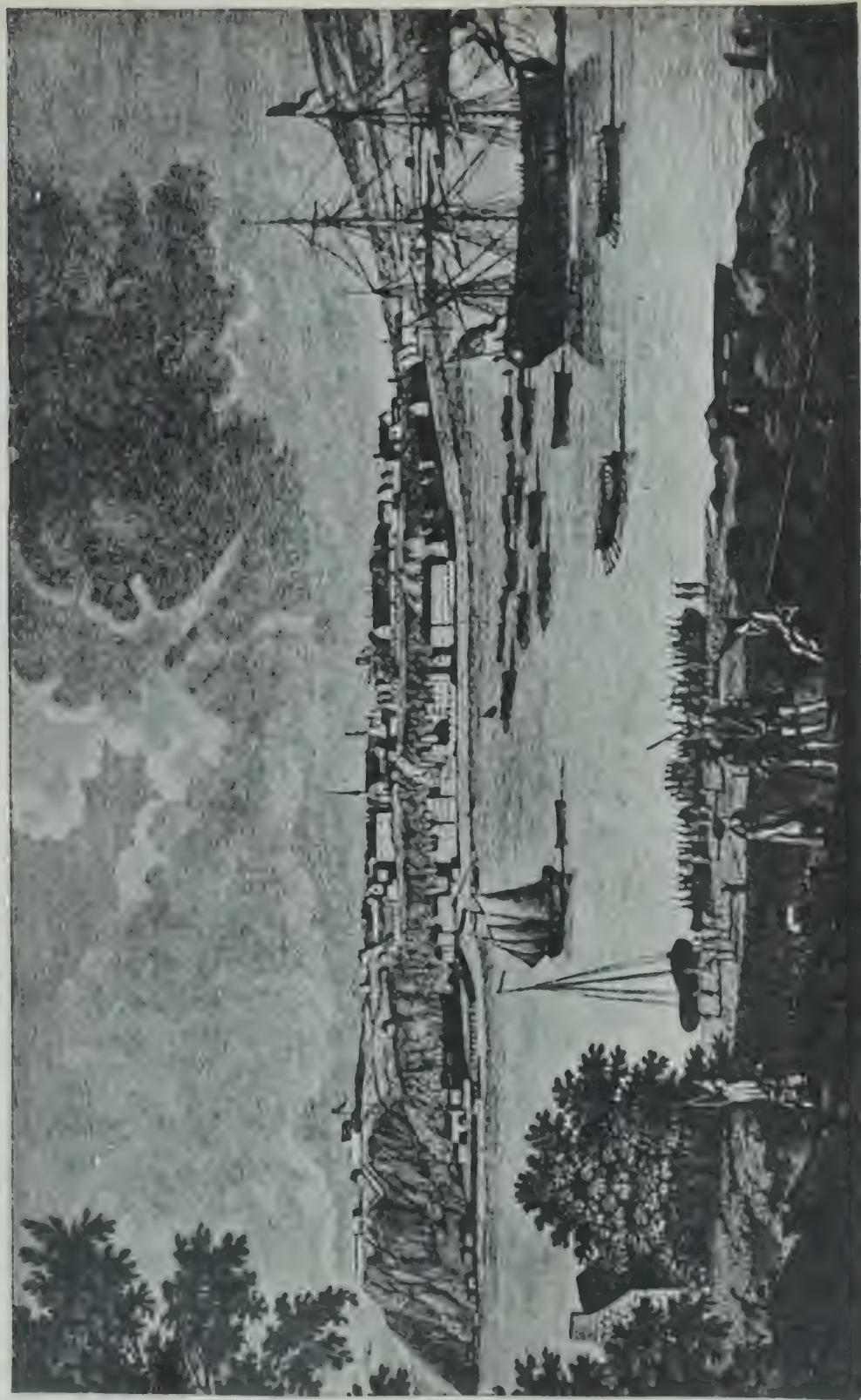
At the close of the seventeenth century the Empire extended over many lands. In the New World we



held the eastern coast line of what is now the United States from Maine to Florida, but had not then pushed very far inland. The Hudson Bay Company, established in 1670, was also developing some important trading forts on Hudson Bay, and the trade in furs was a very important part of our American trade. In the West Indies England held Jamaica and many other islands, and the Bermudas had been an English possession since 1612.

The East India Company had obtained the lease of some very important trading stations in India, and their fleets were journeying backwards and forwards with merchandise by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This made the possession of calling stations on the sea route to India an important matter, and in 1674 St. Helena was taken from the Dutch; it had been occupied first of all in 1651. There were also important trading settlements on the west coast of Africa along the Gold Coast.

The struggle with France brought the Mediterranean into prominence. It was necessary to keep a fleet there to protect our trade, and the fleet required calling stations; while control of the Strait of Gibraltar meant that Britain could cut off the French fleet in the Mediterranean from her Atlantic fleet. Gibraltar was acquired in 1704, and Minorca four years later. Both these possessions were retained by Britain at the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, and she was also confirmed in the possession of Newfoundland; the French Acadie, which was now renamed Nova Scotia; the Hudson Bay region; and some West Indian islands.



A DRAWING OF QUEBEC IN 1761 BY R. SHORT

During the years of peace which followed, the American colony of Georgia was founded, 1733 ; about thirty years later the colonisation of New Brunswick was commenced. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, left matters as they were ; but the Treaty of Paris, 1763, definitely asserted Britain's supremacy over France as a great colonising and trading nation ; for it left Britain supreme in North America and India, and considerably strengthened in the West Indies, while the retention of Gibraltar and Minorca gave her the control of the Mediterranean. The only other colonial powers were Spain and Holland. France was allowed certain trading stations in India on condition that they were unfortified, and she retained a number of her possessions in the West Indies. But Canada, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, and Florida became British with their hinterland as far westward as the Mississippi. A large number of the West Indian islands were also British possessions, and British traders had the right to cut logwood on the Spanish mainland of Central America. The total number of colonists in the thirteen American States was probably less than a million and a quarter, and about three-quarters of these were of British descent ; a hundred years earlier the population was not more than fifty thousand.

TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS, 1680—1770

Important Persons	OVERSEAS	A.D.	IN THE BRITISH ISLES	Important Persons
Louis XIV	Battle of La Hogue Treaty of Ryswick Death of Charles II of Spain War of Spanish Succession (1702—13) Capture of Gibraltar Battle of Blenheim	1685	Death of Charles II	Shaftesbury
		1688 1689 1690	Abdication of James II Bill of Rights Battle of the Boyne	William III
		1692 1693	Massacre of Glencoe Origin of National Debt	
		1695	End of censorship of press	Montague
		1697		
Prince Eugene Tallard	Treaty of Utrecht	1700		
		1702	Accession of Anne	Marlborough
		1704		
		1707	Union of England and Scotland	Steele Swift
		1713 1714 1715	Accession of George I Rebellion of the Old Pretender	Addison Bolingbroke Townshend
		1720	South Sea Bubble	Walpole

Peter the Great of
Russia

Louis XV

Frederick the Great

Maria Theresa

Duquesne

Dupleix

Pope

Wesley
Whitefield

Johnson
Goldsmith

Clive

Pitt, Earl of Chatham

Wolfe

Bute

Cook

1727 Accession of George II

1733 Walpole's Excise Scheme

1736 Porteous Riots in Edinburgh

1740 Anson's voyage round the world
(1740-1744)

1745 Rebellion of the Young Pretender
1746 Battle of Culloden

1748

1752 Reform of the Calendar

1756
1757

Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Black Hole
of Calcutta Battle of Plassey

1759
1760

Battle of Heights of Abraham
Battle of Wandewash

1763

Peace of Paris

1765

Stamp Act in American Colonies

1768

Cook's first voyage to Australia

EXERCISES

1. Find out if any of the great Whig families had country seats or other possessions in your own locality.
2. There are many novels and tales dealing with the Forty-five Rebellion. Have you read any of them? Make a special study of this episode.
3. Write an account of a meeting of the House of Commons on the occasion of Jenkins's ear. Use the picture on page 374. Compare this picture with the pictures on pages 123, 311, 481.
4. Find out all you can about the life of *either* Clive *or* Wolfe.
5. Use the maps belonging to this chapter to make a series of maps showing the extent of the British Empire in 1660, 1713, 1748, and 1763 respectively. The terms of the treaties of Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Paris, 1763, will help you.

CHAPTER XV

The Loss of the American Colonies(i) *The War of American Independence*

THE reign of George III is one of the longest in English history ; it is also one of the most memorable. The king came to the throne at the early age of twenty-two, at the moment when the wonderful victories of Pitt and his generals had made Britain renowned by land and by sea. The power of France was broken, and Britain had gained possession of most of her colonies. The king declared proudly that he gloried in the name of Briton ; yet he was responsible in large measure for undoing the great work that Pitt had done. For he had been taught by his mother that it was his duty to be a king indeed, and not the servant of his ministers, the Whig oligarchs who were ruling the country ; and in order that the king could gain control of the government it was necessary that peace should be made as speedily as possible. Hence came the Peace of Paris, 1763, and, as we have seen, this gave the country no fit recompense for its wonderful successes in the war.

It was really too late in the day for Britain to be ruled by an absolute monarch ; but George was none the less determined to be the actual ruler of the country ;

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and he hoped to gain this power, not by destroying the Parliament, but by getting control over it and using it for his own purpose. He knew that he too could bribe as well as Newcastle and the Whigs; and, as the Whigs were now splitting up into factions and quarrelling among themselves, he saw that it would not be very difficult for him to gain his own ends. The Tories, too, had ceased to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of a Stuart king, and were now prepared to support George against their Whig opponents. Yet if the king was actually to be supreme his ministers could not possibly be independent men of genius like Pitt, but servants of second-rate ability willing to carry out the desires and dictates of their royal master.

Worst of all, the man who now came to the throne with these dangerous ideas was a man of limited intelligence and weak judgment, but of very great obstinacy of purpose. Unfortunately, too, his mind lacked balance, and he showed almost from the first symptoms of the insanity that for many years of his reign made him incapable of attending to affairs of state. In his reign and through his influence there was a return to party strife, a widening of the breach between the British and Irish peoples, and the loss of the American colonies.

Pitt had resigned office at the king's accession, because George refused to declare war on Spain; and when Newcastle also resigned the king appointed as his Prime Minister the Earl of Bute, who had been his tutor, and was his mother's friend. The peace terms were only carried through Parliament by bribery, and this and other measures made Bute so

very unpopular in the country that he resigned his post, and was succeeded by Grenville, one of the weakest of the Whigs, for the king was not yet able to do without the Whigs altogether.

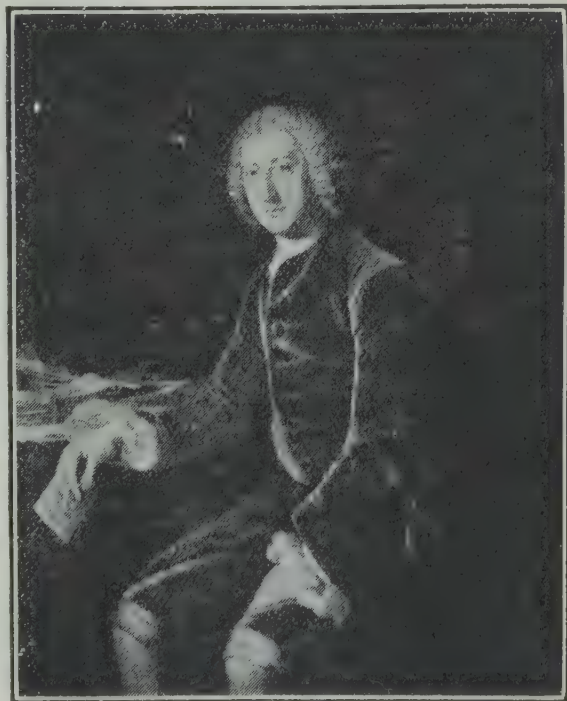
The attack on the Government was continued by John Wilkes, a member of Parliament, and the editor of a paper called *The North Briton*.

In number 45 of this paper Wilkes criticised the reference to the Peace of Paris which occurred in the King's Speech, 1763.

He was arrested by a general warrant—that is, a warrant in which the name of the person to be arrested was not given, and was charged with libel.

The judge ordered his release because members of Parlia-

ment could not be arrested on such a charge; but the Government continued their attack on another charge, and Wilkes was expelled from Parliament and outlawed. When he returned from exile he was again imprisoned; but he had now become a popular hero and the vindicator of the right of freedom of speech, and the electors of Middlesex returned him to Parlia-



National Portrait Gallery.

WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

From a painting by W. Hoare.

ment again and again ; while in 1766 the House of Commons condemned the use of general warrants, and they came to an end.

All this made the Government unpopular. Wilkes was looked upon as a patriotic martyr in the cause of freedom and liberty ; and the unfortunate Government was unluckily just as unsuccessful abroad ; though we may allow them in both cases the credit of good intentions. The last war had left the country burdened with a National Debt of some £140,000,000, and as a large portion of this had been incurred in helping the American colonists, Grenville felt that the American States might fairly be called upon to help a little in paying the interest upon the debt. The colonists were certainly in many ways in a most fortunate position. They had self-government, they had religious freedom, they controlled their own financial affairs. Only on questions of trade and questions of imperial defence was there any interference from the home Government. But these colonists were in many cases the descendants of men and women who had left their native land because they objected to interference with their political or religious liberty ; and they were therefore likely to be suspicious of any act which seemed in any way to restrict that liberty. Moreover, the chief danger to the colonists, the presence of the French in Canada, had been taken away by the terms of peace.

Grenville, however, was determined that they should bear some part of the cost of the war, and of the steps necessary for the defence of the colonies, if France should seek revenge ; and in 1765 the Parlia-

ment passed a Stamp Act, imposing a tax on legal documents used in America. The proceeds of the tax were to be used to support a garrison of troops in the States. He had preceded this by enforcing more stringently the Navigation Act of 1651, which restricted the trading rights of the colonists in the interest of the mother-country. For example, the manufacture of woollen and iron goods, and even of beaver hats from native materials, was either restricted or forbidden altogether ; and it was illegal to use tea other than that imported from England, though the States were drawing most of their supplies direct from India. When the Stamp Act was added to these measures restricting smuggling and illegal trade, there was much ill-feeling and some disorder in the colonies.

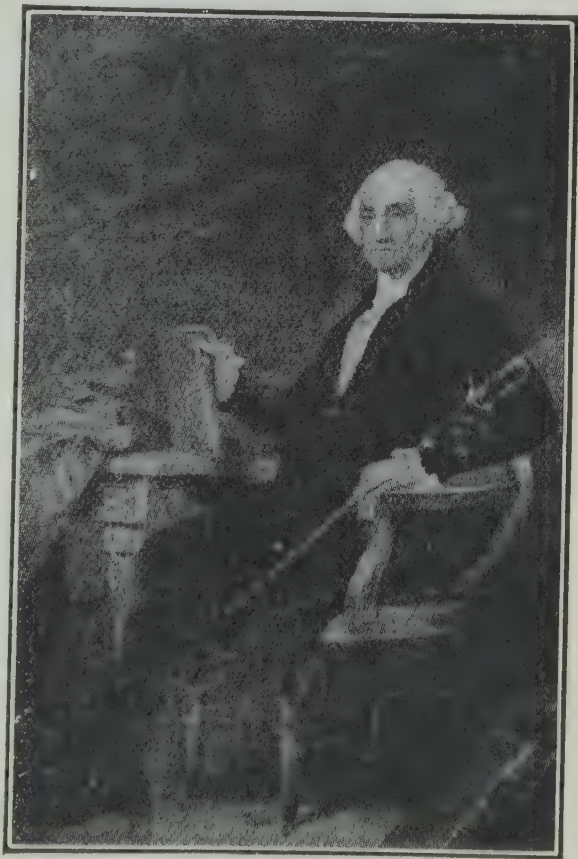
Before the news of this reached England Grenville had been dismissed from office. His successor, Rockingham, at once repealed the Stamp Act, but very foolishly passed a Declaratory Act, asserting the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonists. Rockingham's Ministry, too, was dismissed, and its place taken by a Ministry formed by Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, and the Duke of Grafton. Pitt had made a great speech in favour of the repeal of the Stamp Act, yet it was Lord Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this Ministry, who renewed the question of taxing the colonists. But Pitt was not to blame, for severe illness prevented him from sharing in the administration, which passed into Grafton's hands. Townshend's claim on the colonists took the form of an Import Duties Bill, placing duties on glass, red and white lead, paper, tea and other articles. There was

much opposition in America ; the colonists refused to buy any of the articles involved ; and troops had to be sent to Boston, 1768.

The Grafton Ministry broke down in 1770, and a new one was formed by Lord North, a Tory who could be trusted to do as the king wished him to do. From this time George III was the chief of the ministers of the country, and for the results of their actions he must be held responsible. The English merchants were alarmed at the turn things were taking, and tried to make peace ; and North took off all the obnoxious duties, except the one on tea. But the colonists were struggling to establish the principle of "no taxation without representation," and were, therefore, just as much opposed to one as to many taxes ; so that North's attempted compromise was useless. The colonists still resented British interference with their trade, and there was no one to heal the breach. Matters went from bad to worse ; a ship engaged in preventing smuggling was burned off Rhode Island, 1772 ; in the next year, some young colonists disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded English tea ships in Boston harbour, and threw their cargoes into the sea.

The Government's reply to this "Boston tea-party" was to close Boston harbour to all trade ; to revoke the charter of the State of Massachusetts ; and to send General Gage with a strong force to Boston. These "intolerable acts" were followed by a Congress at Philadelphia of delegates from all the States except Georgia, which issued a *Declaration of Rights*, and forbade any trade with Britain until their grievances were redressed.

Burke and Chatham spoke in Parliament on behalf of the colonists, but it was too late. The Assembly of Massachusetts had begun to collect munitions of war, and when General Gage sent British soldiers to destroy them, the troops were ambushed at Lexington by the colonists, and the first shots fired. There was a Second Congress of the States at Philadelphia and Washington was made Commander-in-Chief of their forces. He was a Virginian of an old-established and wealthy family, and much less extreme in his views than the New Englanders. He had also had much experience in colonial warfare.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

From an engraving of a contemporary portrait.

Lexington was followed by the battle of Bunker's Hill. Here Gage delivered an attack in the usual European manner on the colonists, who were occupying the hill, and the close order and bright uniforms of the British troops made them conspicuous targets for the colonial troops. The hill was taken at the third attempt, but only after heavy British losses, and their

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successful resistance gave the colonists great confidence in themselves.

Efforts for peace were still made even now, but in vain. An Olive Branch Petition from the Americans was rejected by the king and his ministers, and the colonists prepared for war. At first matters went against them. An attempted invasion of Canada was a failure; the discipline of their forces was weak, and Washington was not well supported by the Congress. General Howe, who had replaced Gage, took New York, and this town was retained until the end of the war. He followed up his success in the next year by the capture of Philadelphia, after defeating Washington at Brandywine Creek.

Things looked favourable for the British cause, and it was decided to end the war by a master-stroke which should cut off the New England States, the ringleaders in the war, from the other States. This was to be accomplished by the capture of the Hudson Gap. An army under Burgoyne was to march south from Canada and another under Clinton northwards from New York to meet him. The scheme was totally mismanaged by an incompetent War Minister; Clinton did not march north; Burgoyne was surrounded at Saratoga and forced to surrender.

His surrender was the turning-point of the war. The French entered the war on behalf of the colonists, whom they had already been helping in secret. There was a suggestion that the independence of the colonies should be recognised, so that the army and navy could be concentrated against France, and it was in opposition to this proposal that Chatham made his last speech

in the House of Lords. He was still pleading for an unbroken Empire when he was seized with a fit and shortly afterwards died. The cause of Britain was now lost so far as the northern States were concerned, and the only hope remaining was to keep the southern States from breaking away also. There were more friends of the mother-country in the southern States, and at last a capable general was found to try to save them. This was Lord Cornwallis, who landed in the south and met with some success. As the situation improved also in the north, it was decided to attempt a junction of the two forces in Virginia. But the scheme failed. Cornwallis was forced to retire to Yorktown, where he hoped to be relieved by the British fleet. Unfortunately the navy was comparatively inefficient at the moment, for it had been sadly neglected by George and his ministers, and its squadrons were dispersed and were everywhere outnumbered by the French. In spite of Rodney's efforts the command of the sea was lost, and the French admiral, De Grasse, blockaded Yorktown, and prevented any help reaching Cornwallis, who was therefore forced to surrender, 1781.

It was evident now that the colonies would win their independence; all that could be hoped for was to make as favourable a peace as possible with France and Spain. Minorca had fallen to Spain, and only the heroic efforts of General Elliot and his garrison were saving Gibraltar from a similar fate. There was serious discontent both at home and in Ireland; North resigned, 1782; and the king was compelled to accept his resignation. The losses the nation

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had endured were compensated for to some extent by the downfall of George's system of control of the Government.

Rodney struggled hard to render the fleet more



Reproduced from Bradshaw's "A Short History of Modern England"

efficient, and his efforts were rewarded by the complete defeat of De Grasse in the West Indies, at the battle of the Saints, 1782. This victory gave Britain a better standing in framing the Treaty which followed; for France was in no position financially to continue the struggle. The Treaty of Versailles, 1783, recog-

nised the independence of the revolting American colonies. Spain received Minorca and Florida : France obtained some additional West India islands. Many of those of the American colonists who wished to remain in the Empire emigrated to Canada and settled in the district now known as Ontario. They were called the United Empire Loyalists ; and they added a British population to the French population of the Quebec region.

(ii) *Home Affairs*

The closing years of the War of American Independence were marked by a recovery of the importance of Parliament. The king lost the control he had exercised so disastrously, and a new generation of parliamentary orators sprang up, which included Edmund Burke, an Irishman, who could write perhaps better than he could speak, and who started public life as the private secretary of Lord Rockingham ; Charles James Fox, who commenced as a Tory, but became more and more a Whig as he grew older ; a great orator Sheridan, who was famous also as a writer of comedies ; and William Pitt, the second son of the great Chatham. Such men as these were unlike the Norths and Grenvilles who had submitted to the king in the earlier years of his reign ; and some of them were soon ready to challenge his power, and to suggest methods of reforming the government of the country.

The younger Pitt made his first entry into Parliament in 1781, as an opponent of the king's American

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policy. He was then a young man of twenty-two. When North retired from office, he was succeeded by Shelburne as Prime Minister, and in this Ministry the young Pitt held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Shelburne was forced to resign in 1783, as a result of the combined action of Fox and North, and was succeeded by the "Unnatural Coalition" which those two persons formed. Pitt refused to take office under such a combination, and his foresight was justified, for the coalition lasted only a few months, and was then replaced by a Government under the direction of William Pitt himself. At the early age of twenty-five he had become Prime Minister of England, and he continued to hold that office for nearly twenty-three troubled years, with the exception of one short period of less than three years.

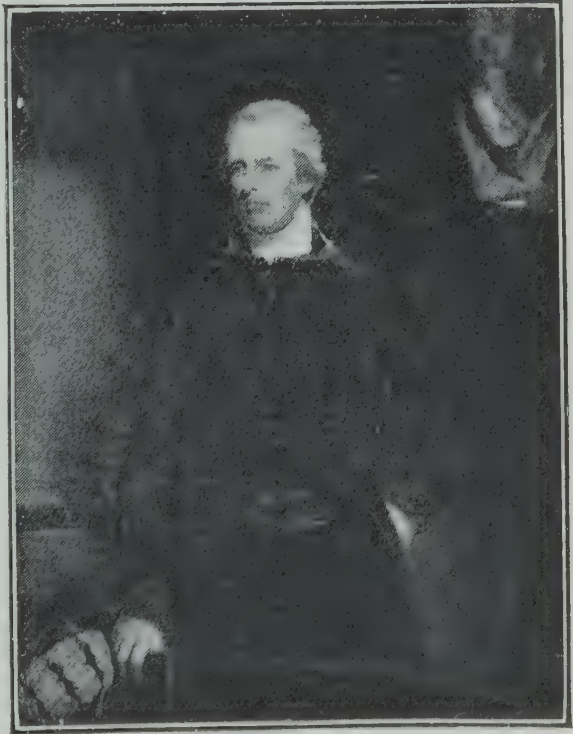
Pitt was great both as orator and leader. He excelled his father in the latter sphere, though he was inferior to him as an orator; for his power was rather that of a skilled debater. He was quick at acquiring information, and very ready in his use of it; he could debate with calmness and accuracy; and he could inspire confidence into the minds of his hearers. Under different circumstances he would probably have been known to posterity as a great financial statesman, for it was in a peace policy that he would have excelled; as it was, he was called upon to guide the nation during a period of warfare when Britain was fighting for her very existence as nation and empire.

But before this terrible war broke out there was a period of ten years of peace, and for the last eight of these years Pitt was in control. These years saw

a slight movement towards the reforms that were urgently needed in government at home and abroad. For example, some of the worst restrictions under which the Roman Catholics were labouring were removed, though they were still prohibited from voting at elections. These concessions were followed in 1780

by violent riots in London, known as the Gordon Riots from the leadership of a fanatic named Lord George Gordon. For four days the mob burned and plundered, and order was only restored by calling out the soldiers. In Ireland, too, where there was much unrest, the condition of the Roman Catholics was improved, and some harsh trading restrictions were also

removed. India was another source of anxiety to the Government. After the victories of Clive and Eyre Coote, 1760, all danger from France was removed, and Clive was sent out again to settle the government of the areas under the control of the East India Company. He framed regulations to put an end to the corruption rife among the underpaid officials of the Company ;



National Portrait Gallery.

WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER.

From a painting by Hoppner

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he gained control of the finances of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; he organised an efficient Sepoy army with British officers. His system remained until 1772, when North decided that the time had come for another reform. Up to this time India had been separated into three Presidencies of equal rank—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras—each with an independent governor. The Governor of Bombay was now made the Governor-General of India, and was provided with a Council of four persons to help him in the government. The first Governor-General was Warren Hastings; he did much excellent work in making the administration of Indian affairs honest and efficient.

When the French renewed war with England, 1778, they at once attempted to stir up strife in India, and the Mahrattas rose against the British. This was followed by the invasion of the Carnatic by a claimant to the throne named Hyder Ali. A French fleet landed troops near Madras, and matters seemed very threatening; but Hastings made peace with the Mahrattas, and proceeded vigorously against Hyder Ali, who was defeated at Porto Novo, 1781, and died in the next year. This ended the struggle, and Pitt again altered the method of control of Indian affairs by the appointment of an Indian Board of Control in London, presided over by a Secretary of State for India with a seat in the British Cabinet. The government of India was thus practically transferred to the Crown, for the Directors now retained only the right of appointing the officials of the Company. When Warren Hastings returned home in 1785 he was impeached by Fox,

Burke, and Sheridan for misdeeds towards the natives during his Governor-Generalship. He was acquitted after a trial that lingered on for seven years ; but his impeachment bears witness to the high feelings that were animating the British statesmen who controlled the lives and destinies of subject races in our colonies and dependencies.

Pitt's efforts to reform the system of British government were less successful, for they roused great opposition from interested persons, who were opposed to any change. He found it impossible to reform the method of parliamentary elections ; he was not successful in his efforts to reduce the burden of the National Debt ; British merchants prevented him from giving the Irish greater trading rights. For Pitt was a disciple of Adam Smith, a Glasgow philosopher, whose book, *The Wealth of Nations*, was preaching the advantage that would come from greater freedom of trade. Perhaps Pitt would have succeeded in obtaining these and other reforms as time went on, if the nation had remained at peace ; but all possibilities of this came to an end in 1789, with the outbreak of the French Revolution.

(For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XVIII.)

EXERCISES

1. Can you find any similarities between the action of the American colonists in the events leading to the War of Independence, and the action of the Parliamentarians in the events leading to the Great English Civil War ?

2 Make out a statement of the arguments of (a) a British minister wishing to impose taxation on the Ameri-

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can colonists in 1765 ; and (b) an American leader determined to resist such taxation.

3. Read *Barnaby Rudge*, and then write a descriptive account of the Gordon Riots.

4. Draw (a) a map of the British possessions in North America in 1763 ; (b) a map of the British possessions in North America in 1783. Calculate roughly the amount of territory lost.

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CHAPTER XVI

Britain and the French Revolution

(i) *The French Revolution*

THE condition of affairs in France during the eighteenth century moved steadily from bad to worse. The series of wars against Britain in which its absolute rulers had engaged had proved very costly to the nation, and had concluded without any gain to the French. Most of their colonies had been lost, and after the Treaty of Versailles the country was burdened with a very heavy load of taxation, due not only to the wars of which we have spoken, but also to expenses caused by the mode of life of the French monarchs and their court. This taxation, moreover, was very unfairly distributed ; it pressed very heavily upon the peasant in the country and the merchant in the town, but it left the nobles and the clergy very lightly taxed. The peasants, too, were still suffering from some of the burdens of feudalism, and the traders were hampered by interferences in trade and industry. New ideas about methods of government and ways of life were at this time being put forward by brilliant French writers such as Voltaire and Rousseau ; and the soldiers who came back from America after fighting in the War of Independence brought with them new ideas about

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freedom and liberty and the rights of man. Ideas of reform or revolution were thus in the minds of the French people, when the king, Louis XVI, called a meeting of the States-General in 1789, to consider the financial position of the country; for the State was well-nigh bankrupt, and there seemed no way out of the financial difficulties.

The States-General was the National Assembly of the French people; but the rule of the kings had been so absolute that it had never met for 175 years; and there was, therefore, much doubt as to the way in which its proceedings should be conducted. On previous occasions the three Estates, Nobles, Clergy, and Commons, had sat and voted separately; now the Commons asked that all should sit and vote together, and their request was granted. The States-General then changed itself into a National Assembly, and this assembly began the work of making a new Constitution for the government of France.

Unfortunately the king began collecting an army, and the rumour spread that he was about to dismiss the Assembly. The Parisians took alarm, and on July 14, 1789, stormed the great fortress prison in Paris, known as the Bastille, which to them was the symbol of tyranny. The revolutionary movement spread, and soon the king was in Paris at his palace of the Tuileries, where he was practically a prisoner. Many of his nobles had already left France for other European countries; and he also tried to escape with his family, but was captured and brought back.

These nobles stirred up much feeling against the French in the countries to which they went, and

Austria declared war, for the Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, was an Austrian princess. The French troops were defeated in the Austrian Netherlands, and wild revolutionary movements followed in Paris. The king was suspended from his office, and a great National Convention decided that France should be a Republic. The king was executed, 1793; and this caused other nations, including England and Holland, to join in the war against France. Defeats of the French army led to a Reign of Terror in France under Robespierre; but when the army began to win successes he also was executed; the conduct of the nation was placed in the hands of a Directory of five persons; and opposition to the Directory was put down by a young artillery officer, named Napoleon Buonaparte, who now came into prominence for the first time.

(ii) *Napoleon*

The young man who had helped to establish the power of the Directory was a Corsican by birth, and an officer in the French artillery by profession. He was destined to prove himself one of the greatest military geniuses the world has ever known. The control of affairs in France was now passing from the political leaders to the generals, for all western Europe was in arms against her. In England many people had sympathised with the French in the early days of the Revolution, including Fox and possibly William Pitt himself, though Burke, on the other hand, had denounced the Revolutionists; but after the massacres of September 1792, and the occupation of the Nether-

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lands by France, England was drawn into the struggle. For the rest of his life Pitt was occupied in combating the designs of Napoleon, who was soon to come to



From the painting by Meissonier.

NAPOLEON.

The Emperor is seated on his favourite charger, Marengo.

the front, and there was not only a cessation of reforms in England, but also a reaction against them; for the governing classes were horrified at the excesses of the Revolutionists, and looked upon all reformers as supporters of the French Revolution and its works.

There was trouble, too, in Ireland, for the Irish were roused by the news they heard, and formed a revolutionary society to win their freedom from England with the help of France.

The first days of the war against France were not very successful. There was a coalition of England, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia against the French, but on land the combination met with little success. There was a French victory which cleared the Austrian Netherlands of the Allies; it was followed by the execution of Robespierre, for success brought the Terror to an end. At sea, on the other hand, Lord Howe defeated the French in the victory of the glorious First of June, 1794, and all fears of an invasion of England were over. But in the next year the French overran Holland, and gained control of all her resources of money, trade, and ships; and Prussia and Spain made their peace with France. Yet, though English efforts on land were unsuccessful, the fleet captured many French and Dutch colonies, and in 1795 a new alliance was formed between England, Austria, and Russia.

It was in 1796 that Napoleon's first opportunity came. He was sent by the Directory to Italy to attack the Austrians there, and in less than two years had completely defeated their armies and forced them to a peace which gave France possession of the Austrian Netherlands. Pitt then made peace proposals which the Directory treated with contempt, and 1797 was a year of gloom for Britain. The French planned an invasion of England by the combined French and Spanish fleets, and of Ireland by the Dutch fleet.

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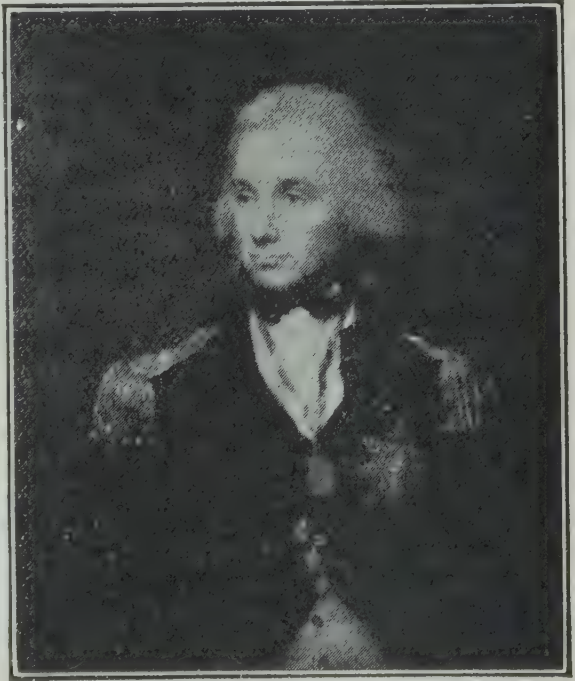
The sailors at the Nore mutinied because of their insufficient pay, and the harshness with which they were disciplined. But Sir John Jervis destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent in a battle in which Nelson was very prominent ; Lord Howe won over the mutineers ; and Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. The French victories in Italy were balanced by their losses at sea.

By his victories in Italy Napoleon had established himself as a great military leader, and was soon dreaming of mighty conquests in the East. Britain alone remained in arms against France, and Napoleon now decided to strike a blow against her, by an attack on her possessions in India ; and, as she still controlled the seas, he decided to reach India by way of Egypt. His agents were at work in India, and the ruler of Mysore, Tippoo Sahib, was prepared to help him against the British. But India was never in danger, for Napoleon's dream was ended by the total defeat of his fleet by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, 1798. On leaving Toulon he had eluded Nelson's fleet, taken Malta from its possessors, the Knights of St. John, and landed in Egypt. His victory in the battle of the Pyramids gave him Egypt ; but Nelson's victory destroyed his hopes, and he was forced to return to France.

In 1798 there was a rebellion in Ireland, and a French force was landed at Killala. The rebellion was a rising against the misgovernment of Ireland by the English. The Irish were filled with hopes arising from the success of the French Revolution, but were beaten at the battle of Vinegar Hill. In 1800 an

Act of Union combined Great Britain and Ireland as the United Kingdom. Pitt managed also to form a second coalition of Britain, Austria, and Russia against Napoleon, and the French were driven out of Italy while Napoleon was in Egypt. On his return he overthrew the Directory, and established himself as First

Consul, with complete military control. In 1800 he crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard Pass, and defeated the Austrians at Marengo; while his general Moreau defeated them also at Hohenlinden in Bavaria. Austria was once more compelled to accept Napoleon's terms, and Russia, too, withdrew from the war, offended by the occupation of



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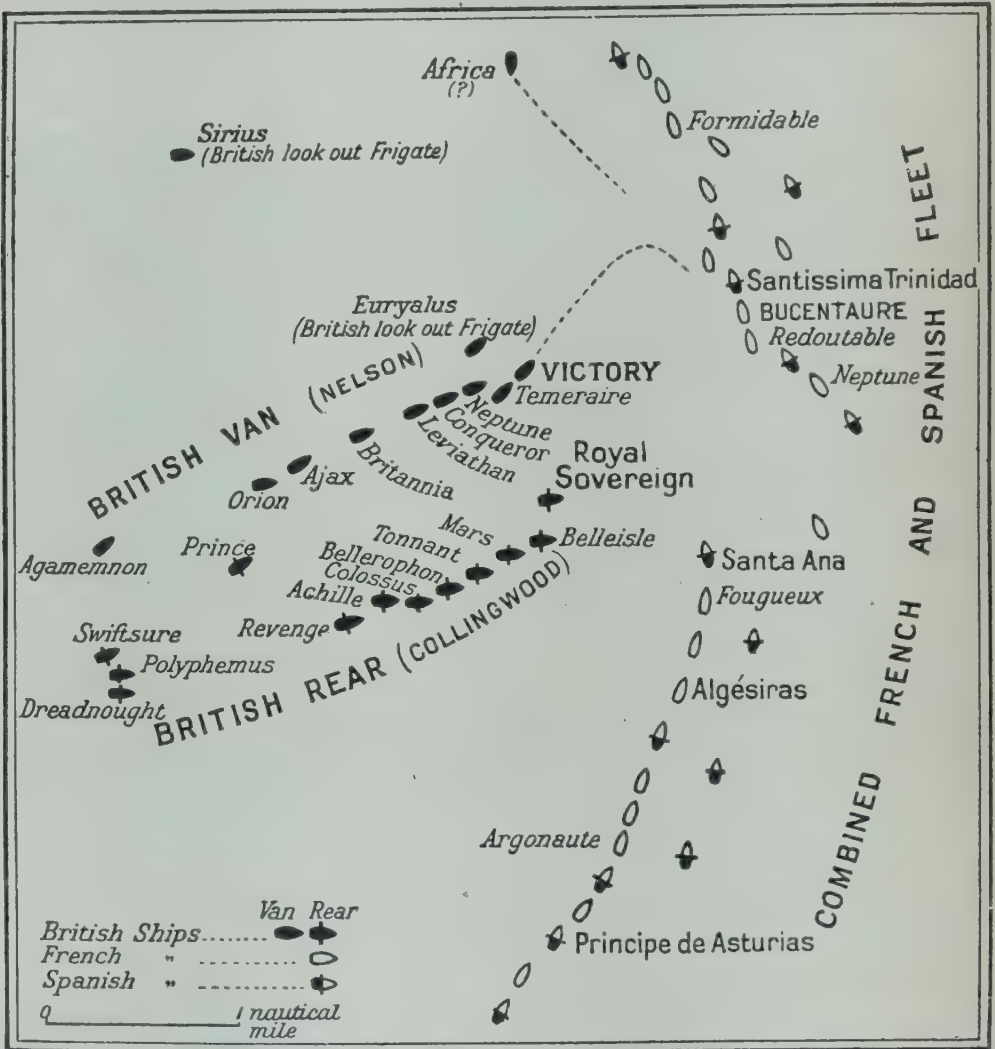
HORATIO, LORD NELSON.

From a painting by Abbott.

Malta by the British navy. Pitt was again left to struggle single-handed against the power of France; and his difficulties were increased by the opposition of the continental nations to the search of their ships by Britain for contraband of war. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia renewed the former Armed Neutrality of the North, and Parker and Nelson were despatched to Copenhagen to prevent

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the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of France. Thanks to Nelson's audacity in refusing to recognise the signal of recall, the Danish fleet was



PLAN OF BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

destroyed under the shadow of the Copenhagen forts.

But now Pitt gave up his post as Prime Minister because the king would not agree to Roman Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, which Pitt had promised the Irish as part of the bargain of the Act of Union. The

king said that to make such a concession would be to break his coronation oath, and Pitt, compelled to break his promise to the Irish, resigned. He was succeeded by Addington, a feeble person who collected around him feeble ministers: the "Ministry of No Talents." This Ministry made peace with Napoleon at Amiens,



THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

By Clarkson Stanfield.

(The *Victory* is in the forefront of the picture.

1802; though the peace was merely a truce, and, as such, lasted only thirteen months. The British were troubled at the cost of the war; Napoleon wanted time to reorganise France and make preparations for the destruction of British naval supremacy, for he saw that this was the chief obstacle to his overlordship of the Continent.

Napoleon used these peace months to strengthen his

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position at home. He came to terms with the Pope, and the Roman Catholic religion was restored to France ; he improved the legal system of the country by a new Code of Laws ; he devised a new educational system for his country. But he never carried out the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, and before the end of 1803 his demands caused Addington to declare war once more. In the next year Addington resigned, and Pitt came back to power. Meanwhile Napoleon had been declared Emperor of the French, and was engaged in active preparations for a great invasion of England. He massed an army of 170,000 men at Boulogne, and collected a fleet of flat-bottomed boats to convey these forces across the Channel. Spain was now under his control, and his idea was to collect the French and Spanish fleets in the English Channel. If he could succeed in this way in gaining command of the sea, his army could be safely transported to the English shore. But all depended upon the whereabouts of the British fleets, which were closely blockading the French naval ports. Nelson, who was watching the Toulon fleet, was lured away to the West Indies, but when he heard that the enemy fleets he was following had doubled back to Europe, he hurriedly returned. The French and Spanish ships were met by Calder in the Bay of Biscay, and forced into Cadiz harbour. Urged on by the taunts of Napoleon, Villeneuve, the French admiral, sailed out to meet Nelson, and was completely defeated at Trafalgar, 1805. Nelson lost his life in the fight, but his victory was complete, and for the rest of the war England was safe from any invasion.

Even before Trafalgar was fought Napoleon had realised that an invasion of England was impracticable, and had turned away to attack Austria once more. An Austrian army was forced to surrender to him at Ulm; about four weeks later Vienna was occupied by the French; before the year was out a combined Russian and Austrian army was totally defeated at Austerlitz, a battle which is Napoleon's masterpiece as a general. The news of these victories hastened Pitt's death. All central Europe seemed to fall under Napoleon's control, for Austria made terms which included the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire; Venice was joined to France; Prussia was forced to enter into an alliance with Napoleon. Only Russia and Britain were left to carry on the war, and when, in the next year, Prussia, which had risen against France, was completely defeated at Jena, and a Russian combination was defeated at Friedland, 1807, the Tsar Alexander also made peace at the Treaty of Tilsit, and Napoleon was master of the Continent.

When Pitt died his place as Prime Minister was taken by Grenville, and a place was found in the Cabinet for Pitt's old rival, Fox, who now recognised that Napoleon must be opposed. But Fox only survived Pitt for seven months. In that time he was able to bring about the abolition of the slave trade so far as Britain was concerned.

Napoleon was now master on the land, but Britain was mistress of the seas. It was a struggle, it has been said, "between a whale and an elephant." Napoleon's effort now took the form of an attack upon his rival's commercial prosperity. In 1806 he issued his Berlin

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and Milan Decrees, which declared Britain to be in a state of blockade and forbade any continental nation to trade with her. Grenville's reply was to issue *Orders in Council* forbidding neutral ships to enter



French ports, or the ports of her dependencies, unless they had previously touched at a British port. The advantage lay with Britain because she had the ships to enforce her orders, and Napoleon had not ; and soon the European nations were feeling the inconvenience of Napoleon's policy, and were blaming him for its con-

sequences. As part of this policy, too, Britain found it necessary to bombard Copenhagen and take the Danish fleet, and to occupy the island of Heligoland.

Napoleon's policy of excluding British trade from



the Continent also brought him into conflict with Portugal, an old ally of Britain. He had already obtained control of Spain, and was doubtless glad of a pretext to overrun Portugal also. But when he placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, 1808, the Spaniards rose in rebellion; and Britain

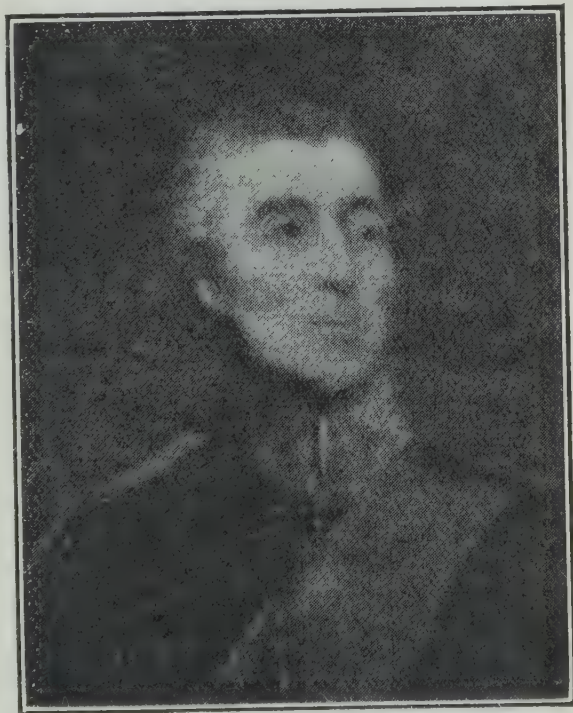
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decided to take advantage of this national rising to weaken Napoleon's power on the Continent.

A British force was landed in Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley, a general who had been very successful in India. Napoleon entered Spain and put down the rebellion against his brother, and a British force under Sir John Moore which was advancing on Madrid was forced to retreat to Corunna, where the French were defeated, but Moore was killed. Meanwhile Wellesley had defeated the French in Portugal at Vimiera, 1808, and the French had evacuated that country. Roused by the action of the Spaniards, Austria again took up arms, and was once more defeated; though the state of affairs in central Europe compelled Napoleon to leave Spain, and entrust the campaign there to his generals. In 1809 Wellesley beat Soult at Oporto, and Victor at Talavera, and was made a Viscount. His plan of campaign was to advance by way of the river-valleys into Spain, with Madrid as his objective, but never to allow himself to be cut off from the sea, for British control of the sea ensured him supplies and reinforcements. In 1810, therefore, he completed the famous lines of Torres Vedras, a chain of fortifications which gave him control of the Lisbon promontory. He also defeated Masséna at Busaco; while in the next year Victor was defeated by Graham at Barosa; Masséna by Wellington at Fuentes d'Onoro; Soult by Beresford at Albuera. These battles were sapping Napoleon's strength and rousing national feeling in Europe; while the Baltic States, and especially Russia, were finding the continental blockade very irksome to them.

In the next year Wellington was able to capture the two strong border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, which were on the flanks of his line of march to Madrid. He followed up this great success by defeating Marmont at Salamanca, and in August he entered Madrid,

though he was compelled to retire to Portugal again as winter approached. Meanwhile Napoleon and the Tsar had quarrelled, and the Emperor could send no help to his generals in Spain, for he was organising that great invasion of Russia, which led to his retreat from Moscow, and the loss of the greater part of his army of 600,000 men, many of them



National Portrait Gallery.

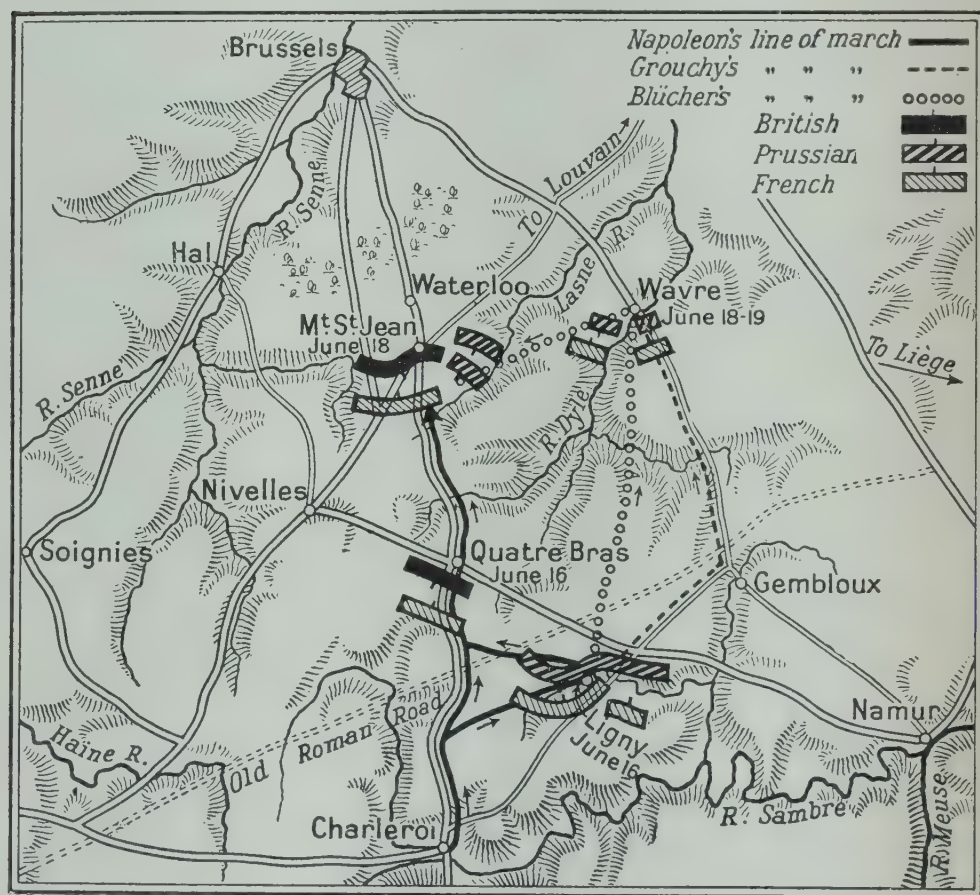
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

From a sketch in oils by J. Jackson.

his best troops. His Russian defeat was the beginning of his downfall. Austria, Prussia, and Russia took up arms in a War of Liberation, and in October 1813 Napoleon was totally defeated by them after four days' hard fighting at the battle of Leipsic, the Battle of the Nations. In the same year, Wellington defeated Joseph Buonaparte at Vittoria, and Soult in the battle of the Pyrenees. In 1814 he won two more victories

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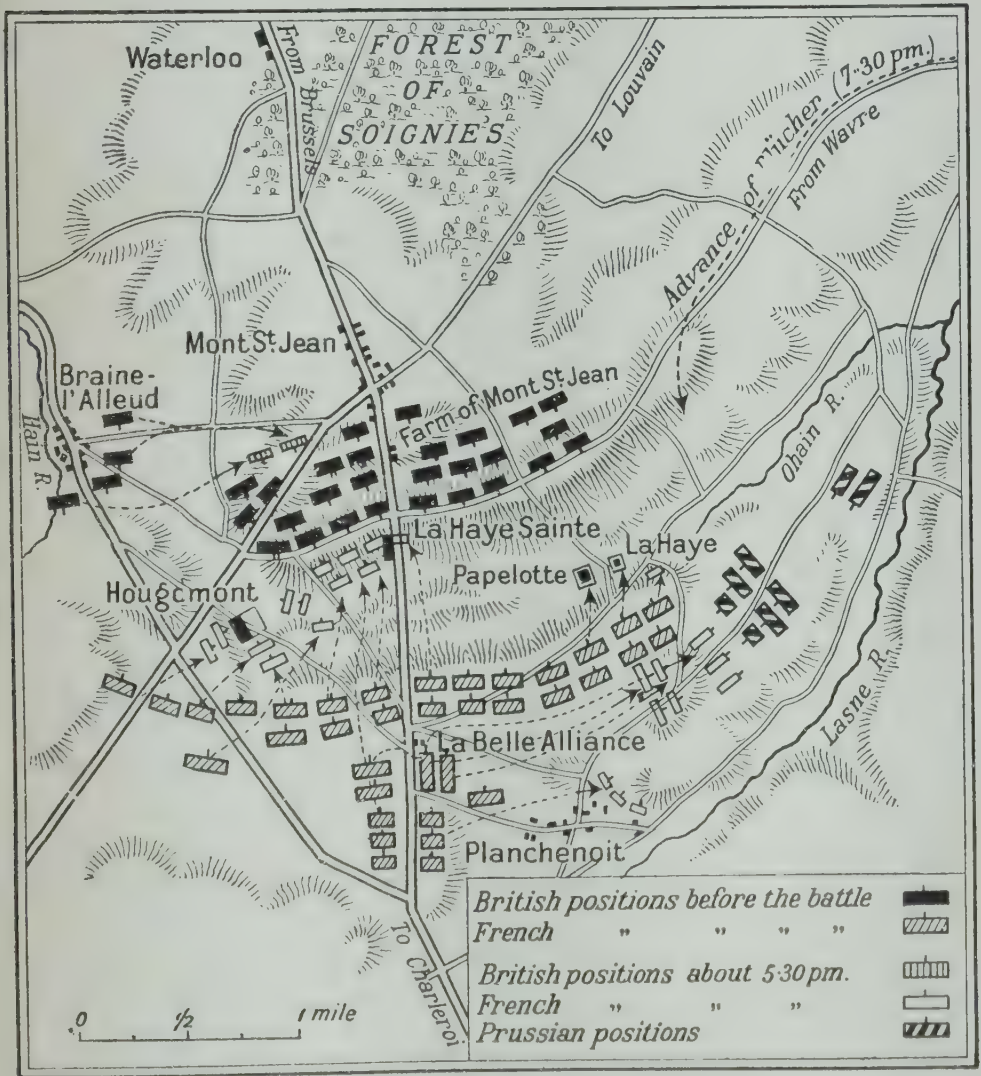
at Orthez and Toulouse; the Allies entered Paris; and Napoleon was forced to abdicate. He was banished to the island of Elba; Louis XVIII was made King of France; the first Treaty of Paris took away from France all her conquests since 1792, and gave to Britain



THE CAMPAIGN OF THE HUNDRED DAYS.

the territories she had gained from France and Holland during the war. A Congress of the Great Powers met at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. But the work of the Congress was interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba, March 1, 1815; and his ready recognition by the French as their Emperor. The

Powers began to collect their forces once more ; but many of the best British troops were in America, for the difficult question of the right of search of vessels



THE BATTLE-FIELD OF WATERLOO.

at sea had involved Britain in a foolish war with the United States in which the British burned Washington.

Napoleon's only hope of success was to attack the forces of the Allies separately, before they had time to

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unite. The Russians and Austrians would be some months before they reached the French border; but Prussian forces under Blücher and British under Wellington had collected in the Austrian Netherlands, and Napoleon led his forces against these. The Prussian headquarters were at Namur, the British at Brussels. Wellington's army was a composite force of North Germans, Belgians, and Dutch, with about 30,000 British.

Napoleon struck at once before the allied generals could unite their forces. Blücher and his troops were at Ligny, and Napoleon advanced against these; sending Marshal Ney with a strong force to hold the cross-roads at Quatre Bras against a possible advance of Wellington to help Blücher, and then to attack the Prussians at Ligny in flank. But matters did not proceed according to plan. Blücher was defeated, but was able to retire in good order, for a few British regiments kept Ney occupied at Quatre Bras all day and he was unable to help his Emperor. Napoleon expected Blücher to fall back on his base at Namur, but he marched north instead, in order to keep in touch with Wellington, who had chosen Waterloo as the place at which to give battle to Napoleon's army. Here on Sunday, June 18, 1815, the armies met. Wellington's army, of which about two-fifths were British, occupied the top of a gentle hill slope, with a forest behind it, and they held the road to Brussels in case retreat was necessary.

The battle did not open until nearly midday, for heavy rains overnight had made the ground bad for cavalry attacks, and it was on these that Napoleon

intended to rely. But the squares of British infantry resisted all the efforts of Ney and his cavalry to break them. Wellington knew that Blücher was approaching and that if he could hold out until the Prussians arrived victory was certain. And his forces did hold out until the end, in spite of a last desperate charge of Napoleon's Imperial Guard in column against them. As these were hurled back in broken formation Wellington gave the order for his line to advance ; the French defeat became a rout, and the broken French army was chased by the Prussians throughout the night. Napoleon's power was at an end. He gave himself up to the commander of the British ship *Bellerophon*, and died six years later on the island of St. Helena, to which he had been banished by his victorious foes. A second Treaty of Paris still further restricted the boundaries of France, and confirmed Britain in the territories she had gained in the course of the struggle.

(iii) *The Second British Empire*

The loss of the American Colonies in 1783 was a severe blow to Britain, for they were the most fully developed portion of her overseas possessions. But there were still large portions of that Empire left in various parts of the world : Canada was retained and the islands of the West Indies ; India was still associated with the East India Company ; Gambia, St. Helena, Gibraltar, and other places in the Old World were still British possessions. And even while the struggle in America was taking place new lands in the Southern Seas were being added to Britain's Empire,

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which were to compensate for the losses she sustained at the Treaty of Versailles ; while the struggle against Napoleon was to give her still further territories.

Dutch explorers had journeyed from the islands of the Malay Archipelago to Australia in the seventeenth century, and one of them had discovered New Zealand also, but no attempts at occupation had been made. An Englishman, too, named Dampier, who had been a buccaneer, reached Australia in 1689. But it was not until the days of Captain Cook that any definitely planned exploration of the South Seas was attempted. He reached Australia on three separate occasions, and in 1770 occupied part of it under the name of New South Wales. This was on his first voyage ; when he went a second time he visited New Zealand, and many of the island groups of the South Pacific ; on his third voyage he was killed by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, 1779.

Perhaps, even then, no steps would have been taken to develop New South Wales had it not been for the loss of the American colonies. British convicts had been transported for many years to America, and after 1783 a new place of transportation had to be found for them. In 1787 a number of convicts were, therefore, sent to Botany Bay in New South Wales, and these convicts and their guards were the first Australian settlers. The Governor moved from Botany Bay to Port Jackson, and named his settlement Sydney. Convicts who had completed their term of imprisonment were given grants of land, and the soldiers too, when their term of service was over, often became colonists. In 1804 a settlement was made at Hobart in Tasmania,

in 1814 the first settlement was established in New Zealand. Sheep and cattle were introduced from the mother-country, and the settlements began to make good progress.

The direction of affairs in India was a matter of great importance after 1763, and between that year and 1815 wars with the princes of the Mahrattas and the rulers of Mysore brought still more territory under direct British control. The period of the Napoleonic wars was a period of great difficulty for the Governors of India, who had to watch over the doings of the native rulers at this critical time, and protect British power against European interference. Tippoo Sahib of Mysore, relying on help from Napoleon, rebelled against this control, but was defeated. By 1815 the territory directly under the Company's supervision was greatly increased, thanks largely to Lord Wellesley, the brother of the Duke of Wellington, who was Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. It was under Lord Wellesley that the future Duke of Wellington had the first opportunities of showing his skill as a general; he defeated the Mahrattas at Assaye and Argaum, 1803.

Several important additions were made to the Empire in the course of the struggle with Napoleon. In 1795, when Holland was overrun by the French, and converted into a Batavian Republic, the Cape of Good Hope, Malacca, Ceylon, and some West Indian islands were taken from her by Britain; Malta, too, was occupied in 1800, it belonged to the Knights of St. John. At the Treaty of Amiens only Ceylon and Trinidad were retained, though Malta had not actually been restored when the war was renewed.

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In 1806 the Cape was retaken from the Dutch, and in 1811 Java also. When peace was made at Paris, 1815, Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Demerara and other territory in South America, Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies, and Mauritius, an important station on the way to India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain stood almost alone as a great colonising power, whose Empire extended over the globe, with the ocean pathways as links binding the parts together.

(For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XVIII.)

EXERCISES

1. Draw a map to show the extent of the British Empire in 1815; and compare with the extent of the Empire in 1763. Use the maps of pages 384, 390, 406, 530, 532.

2. Make a list of the novels and tales you have read dealing with Nelson and the British sailors of the Napoleonic period. Find out all you can about the dress, food, pay, life, and work of a British sailor of this period.

3. Do for the British soldier the same as is suggested for the sailor in Exercise 2.

4. Find out all you can about (a) the French Revolution (b) Napoleon.

5. Has your neighbourhood any associations with this French war period, e.g. were French prisoners detained there; was it within the area of possible invasion by Napoleon; were companies of volunteers formed for defence against Napoleon, etc.?

6. Write an account of Waterloo, or Trafalgar, from the standpoint of a British soldier or sailor.

7. Make drawings of the battle-ships of the Nelson period; and compare them with earlier and later types of ships.

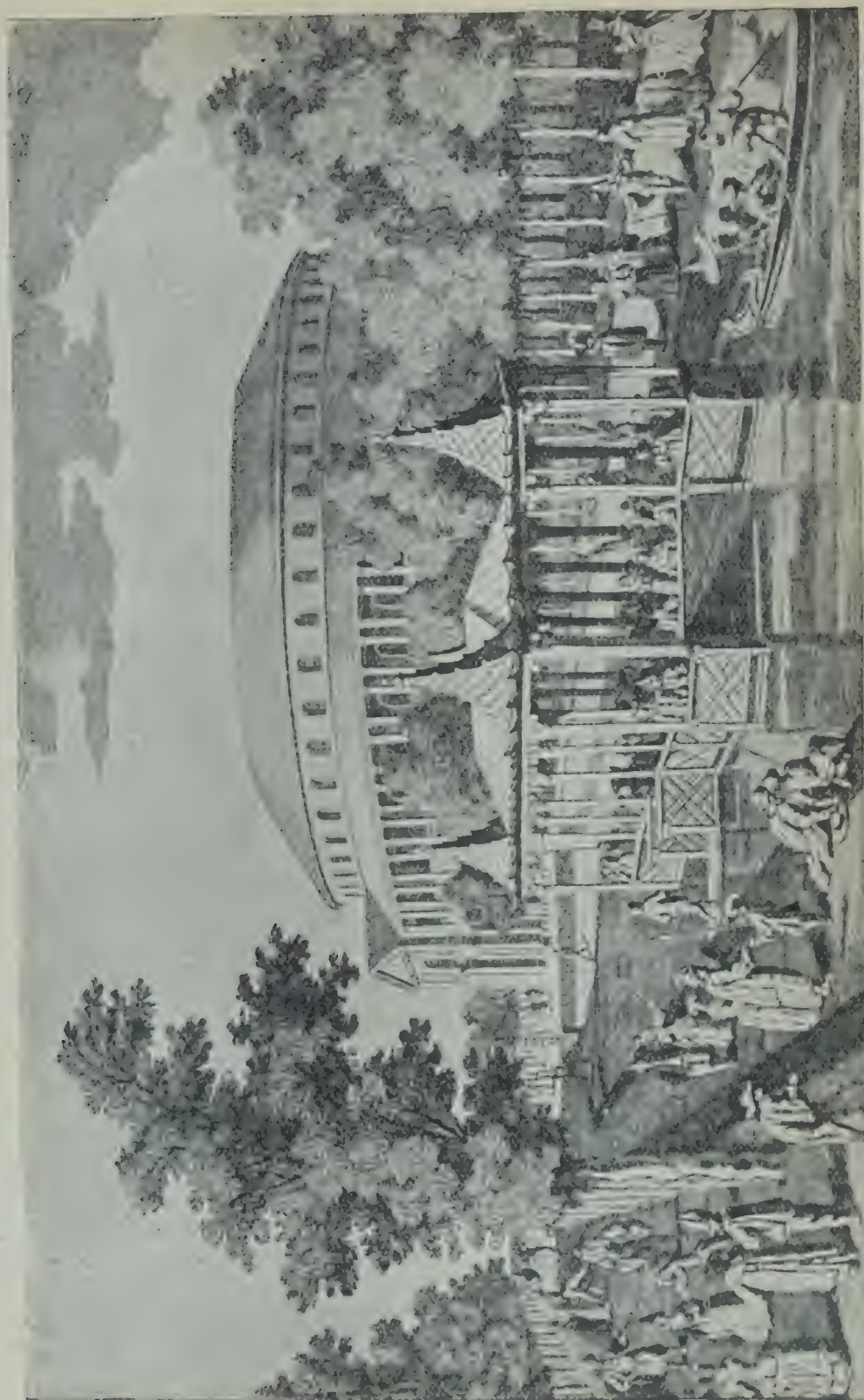
Use the pictures on pages 44, 155, 257, 315, 421, 493.

CHAPTER XVII

Social Life in the Eighteenth Century

THE increased wealth that flowed from the great trading enterprises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was responsible for many changes in the methods of life of the English people. It was the merchants and traders of the middle classes who benefited most from these enterprises, and it is, therefore, in their homes and habits that the greatest advances are made ; though some advance was made also in the standard of life of other sections of the community. This century is, therefore, especially the century of the town and of town life ; the country areas remained very much as they had been for a century or more, for travelling was still so tedious and difficult that the country people were cut off from much association with town life. Carriages were in common use now, it is true ; but though Turnpike Trusts began, in 1663, a system of tolls for the improvement of the main roads, yet many roads were often impassable, and it was always advisable to carry spades and ropes in case the carriage got stuck in the mire. Those who could do so travelled on horseback, and women often rode on a pillion behind the driver.

After the Restoration London became the great



centre of national life, and all the nobility and gentry of the eighteenth century, who could afford it, had a London house, and spent a portion of each year in residence there. During the season they gave receptions, balls, and card parties, and visited the theatre to see the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, and the acting of Garrick and Mrs. Siddons; or went to the fashionable public gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, where there were fireworks and dancing and other outdoor amusements. At the beginning of the century the coffee-houses, too, were popular resorts of both idlers and business men; indeed, there were coffee-houses to suit all classes of society. Those interested in literature could meet Dryden and his friends at Will's coffee-house in Covent Garden; Addison and Steele met at Button's; the Whigs frequented the Kit-Cat, or St. James's; the Tories the Cocoa Tree. It was in this way that the London clubs of to-day originated. Merchants and shipbrokers met at Lloyd's coffee-house, and the name remains to this day as that of the headquarters of shipping insurance. Some of these houses were also centres of gambling, for gambling was one of the vices of the age among all classes of society.

Middle-class families now took a yearly holiday at some fashionable resort; and many spas or watering-places became famous. It was customary to drink the waters, when one visited a spa; and, as the age was an age of plentiful eating and drinking, and the favourite wine was port, there was doubtless much need of this in very many cases, as a cure for gout and other fashionable ailments. But the spas were also

centres of amusement and entertainment, and the proceedings were often regulated by some celebrated *beau*, who acted as master of the ceremonies. Bath was the most famous of these watering-places, but Epsom, Tunbridge Wells, and Buxton also had their devotees ; and after George III and his family had set the fashion of a sea-side holiday by visiting Weymouth frequently, Scarborough, Margate, Brighton and other resorts became very popular.

It was when visiting one or other of these resorts that the country gentry and their families could come into contact with town society and learn something more of literature and culture generally. Not that town life was everything to be desired, for while it was more cultivated and artistic, it was also in many ways frivolous and artificial, and there was very much profligacy and drunkenness. But country life at the beginning of the century was coarse and even brutal. At his best the country gentleman was a splendid fellow of the type of Sir Roger de Coverley, kind and generous to his inferiors, and a lover of the sports and pastimes of the country-side. At the same time he was inclined to be proud and domineering, and he ruled the district with a rod of iron in his twofold capacity of justice of the peace and officer of the militia. But at his worst he was also an ignorant, illiterate Tony Lumpkin, who spent his days in fox-hunting and his evenings in hard drinking. Such a life gave little scope to his wife and daughters, who must have looked forward eagerly to their visits to London or a watering-place, or even to the short season of the neighbouring county town ; for the nobility and country gentry still had their

town houses there, and occupied them during the assizes or the country season.

The rise in the standard of comfort was reflected in the houses that were now built, and in the way in which they were furnished. Nothing shows more clearly the wealth and ostentation of this century, and the proud self-satisfaction of the Whigs, than the splendid town and country houses they built. Architecture was no longer a matter in which the nation as a whole was interested ; it belonged now to the wealthy, and was one of the distinctive hobbies of a gentleman ; and so Classical and Renaissance forms were employed, and the building of cathedrals and churches gave place to the building of town houses and country mansions. Inside these houses were magnificent staircases, lofty suites of rooms, and beautiful statuary, pictures, carpets, and furniture. The houses of the members of the middle classes also gained in beauty and comfort as time went on. Greater privacy was now desired, and the old common life in the one great hall of the house had already been replaced in Tudor times by the house with separate rooms. Bedrooms became usual in almost all houses, and, like the other apartments, were well furnished. Fireplaces were to be found almost everywhere, and glass for windows was common, though the window-tax prevented its full use. Pewter vessels were still in use, but vessels of glass, china, and earthenware were beginning to replace them ; the eighteenth century produced much beautiful china for household purposes at Chelsea, Bow, Derby, and Worcester. Carpets, too, replaced the rushes of earlier centuries, or the floors were covered with tiles.

But in all these developments the advantage was with the towns. The houses of the country yeomen and farmers were improving, but still lacked many of the comforts that were becoming usual features of the houses of their equals in the towns. As for the poor,



MEN'S DRESS IN 1772.

their houses were usually two-roomed cottages, with floors of earth trodden hard by many feet, and at best covered with rushes or straw. Indeed, the country labourer shared but very little in the rise that was taking place in the standard of life. He worked long hours for low wages, and it was difficult for him to leave the district in which he was born, even though he knew he could better himself by moving elsewhere.

Fortunately he was able to supplement his scanty earnings by work on the plot of land he usually possessed, and by his right to graze a cow on the common pasture, and he also kept some pigs and poultry. Also in this period much work was done in the houses of the people, and by this *domestic industry* the wife and children of a labourer could add to the family

income by spinning and cleaning wool, or by other occupations, such as lace making or basket weaving. But before the end of the century these additional sources of income disappeared, and the labourer's lot became a very hard one.

These country people dressed plainly, the poorer in smock frock, the better in garments of homespun cloth, woven and made up into garments by the housewife herself and her daughters. The middle classes, too, for the most part, dressed soberly enough, in dull-coloured clothes, though their sombre hue was relieved by the whiteness of their shirt fronts and the lace ruffles of their necks and sleeves.

The beaux and belles of fashionable society dressed more gorgeously and beautifully, for it was a period of magnificent dresses. At the beginning of the century dresses were usually of beautiful flowered silk, with rich trimmings of silk and lace; by 1750 skirts were stretched on large hoops; before the century closed the skirts



MEN'S DRESS IN 1772.

This young gentleman is a "macaroni,"
a leader of fashion of the period.

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were narrow, and short-waisted and tight gowns became fashionable. Hats and bonnets changed their fashion frequently ; usually an expansive skirt was



A LADY'S DRESS IN 1772.

"The Bird of Paradise."

worn with a small tight bodice and a small hat : while a tight skirt would be associated with a large hat. Wigs were in common use among men ; and hair-dressing became an important feature of women's attire. About the time of the War of American

Independence women were building up their hair to the height of two or three feet, by means of pads placed underneath, and were decorating it with fruit and flowers.

The dress of the fashionable man about town was very different from what it now is: we can gain some idea of what it was like from the present day liveries of men-servants and the uniforms of soldiers. All through the century men favoured clothes of bright and vivid colours, made of silks or satins, plain and flowered. The coat was long and very full skirted, and the waistcoat reached to the knees. Trousers were unknown, all men wore knee-breeches, the rich with silk stockings, the poor with stockings of worsted. Gentlemen carried a sword as part of their attire. The court dress still worn to-day gives us a good idea of one of the costumes of this period.

But, with all its culture and refinement and magnificence, the eighteenth century was a coarse and brutal age; and its coarseness and brutality show themselves particularly in its amusements and its punishments. The duel was still popular among the nobility. Gambling was common in all classes of society, and lotteries were encouraged by the Government as a method of raising money for public purposes. Prize-fighting, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting were popular amusements of both sexes in all classes of society. A favourite pastime of the young gallants of this period was to interfere with the passers-by; women were insulted in the streets, and respectable citizens were subjected to all kinds of indignities. Unfortunately the streets were badly lighted; it was not until 1810

that the first gas-lamps were erected in London streets ; the guardians of the streets were feeble old watchmen, popularly known as Charlies, and if they could not get out of the way of the gallants, or Mohocks as they were called, they were likely to be severely beaten or



THE COCKPIT.

From a painting by Hogarth.

put into tubs and rolled down the hilly streets. The town streets, too, were badly paved and very dirty ; there were no spouts, and the rain poured off the houses on to the heads of the passers-by. In the streets themselves the gutters were wide and full of mud. Among the poor of the towns gin-drinking became almost a national vice after the introduction of this spirit in 1724, and caused much poverty and disease.

The ignorance of the poor was a danger to society ; riots were frequent and often dangerous, as the Porteous Riots in Edinburgh, 1736, and the No Popery or Gordon Riots in London, 1780, show.

The prisons were dens of iniquity. Prisoners of all grades and classes were mixed together, and were at the mercy of their jailers, who treated them according to their ability to pay. Punishments were usually inflicted in public, and drew crowds of jeering, callous spectators ; the public flogging of women was not abolished until 1817. Hanging was a common penalty for wrong-doing ; a person could be hanged for stealing a horse or sheep, or if he picked a person's pocket to the value of five shillings, or stole goods from a shop to the same value, or robbed to the value of forty shillings from a dwelling-house. Even as late as 1819 there were still as many as two hundred offences for which death was the penalty ; though juries took the matter in their own hands and softened the terrors of the law by refusing in many cases to convict. The offenders who escaped hanging were transported to one or other of the colonies. The public executions at Tyburn were great public events attended by thousands of persons.

Luckily, however, there were influences at work during the century which did much to soften the brutality which is so marked a feature of the time. At the commencement of the century religious feeling was at a low ebb ; the bishops were chosen for their political ability ; the clergy were self-seeking and without enthusiasm ; even the fervour of the Puritans had died down. The nation was recalled from its

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moral and spiritual apathy by the work of three Oxford scholars, John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. They appealed especially to the middle and lower classes, preaching to large numbers in the open air; and their efforts met with an extraordinary amount of success. While still at Oxford, these men



National Portrait Gallery.

JOHN WESLEY.

From a painting by N. Hone.

had developed a strict and orderly method of religious life, and had been nicknamed "the Methodists" in consequence. John Wesley himself remained a member of the Church of England all his life, but a few years after his death, in 1791, his followers left the Church and formed a separate religious organisation under the name of the Wesleyan

Methodists. But their work was not confined to its effects upon their own society: as a result of their efforts the Church and other religious organisations were stirred to action with excellent results. Other influences for good were the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded

in 1701. The first Sunday-school was opened in Gloucester by Robert Raikes in 1780. Other workers laboured also in other directions; Clarkson and Wilberforce fought to abolish the slave trade, and succeeded in 1807; Mrs. Elizabeth Fry and John Howard fought hard and successfully for prison reform; many Charity Schools were founded by public subscription, so that poor children could learn to read and write; and before 1800 a movement was beginning which was ultimately to bring education within the reach of everybody.

By the close of the century, too, literature was making a much wider appeal than it had ever done before. The age of the patron had passed away, and the author's appeal was now to the public

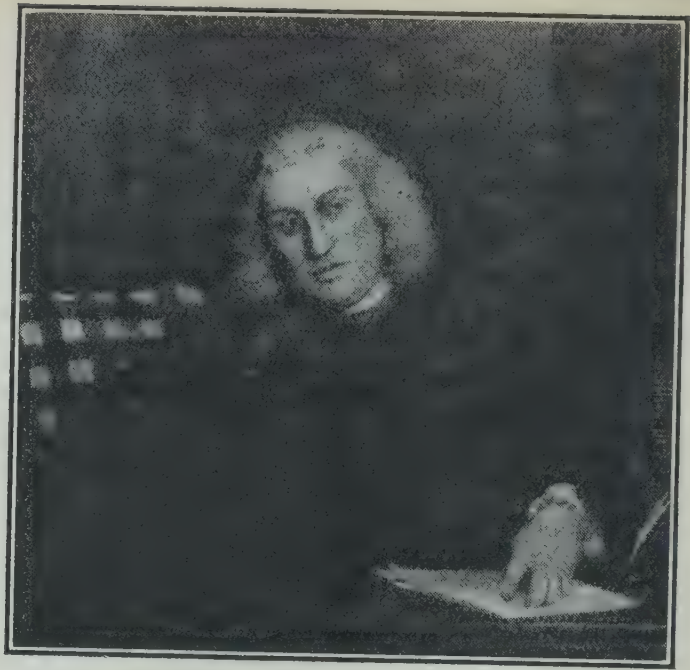


National Portrait Gallery.

ALEXANDER POPE.

From a crayon drawing

generally. Much of Pope's work had been published with the help of wealthy subscribers who pledged themselves to take copies of his work on its completion; but Steele and Addison, in the *Spectator* and similar papers, wrote for the middle classes, and depended for support upon the number of



National Portrait Gallery.

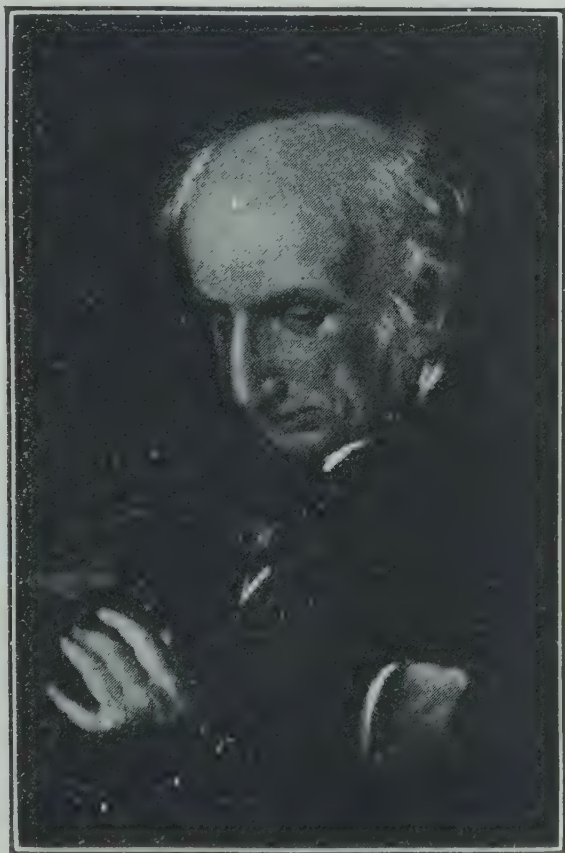
DOCTOR JOHNSON IN 1756.
From a painting by Reynolds.



National Portrait Gallery.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.
From a painting by Reynolds.

copies bought, as did also such a writer as Defoe, whose *Robinson Crusoe* has achieved a world-wide fame. About the middle of the century Johnson and Goldsmith did the same as essayists, poets, and



National Portrait Gallery.

WORDSWORTH.

From a painting by Haydon.

novelists: Goldsmith was also a successful playwright. The novel now became an all-important part of English literature, and some of the earliest novelists, Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne, are among the greatest England has produced. Historians, too, were famous, for the century includes Hume, Robertson, and

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Gibbon ; while Boswell is the prince of all biographers. The poets include Pope, Thomson, Gray, Collins, Cowper, and Burns, followed at the close of the century by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Scott ; and in the next century by Byron, Shelley, and Keats.

Journalism, too, became an important occupation.



National Portrait Gallery.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

From a painting by himself.

The first *daily* newspaper, the *Daily Courant*, appeared in 1702 ; it was followed by the *Daily Post* in 1726. In one way Addison and his friends were journalists, though the *Spectator* was not altogether a newspaper in the modern sense.

Of present-day papers, the *Morning Post* was established in 1772, and the *Times* sixteen years later.

With the spread of education came greater interest in science and art, as well as in literature. Much progress was made in science by the members of the Royal Society, which included such famous scientists as Priestley, Cavendish, Hunter, Herschel, Davy, and Dalton. In art, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough were the greatest of many famous painters,

whose works are found in many of our public picture galleries, or in reproductions in many of our books.

(For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XVIII.)

EXERCISES

1. Write an account of a cock-fight, using Hogarth's picture on page 444. What other amusements are characteristic of the eighteenth century?

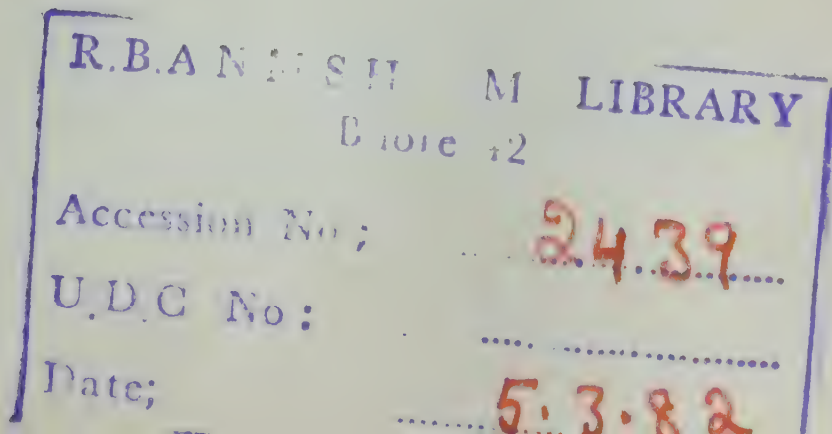
2. Many of the pictures in this book are reproductions of the work of famous artists. Write down the names of these artists, and make a list of the pictures painted by them, with which you are acquainted.

3. Find out if there are any houses in your own neighbourhood which belong to this century.

4. Do you live in or near any spa or watering-place that was important in this century? If so, find out what you can about it. Or you may visit such a place when on holiday, and can then find out much about the amusements of this period.

5. Make a list of writers of this century with whose works you are acquainted.

6. Use the pictures in Chapters XIV to XVIII as material for a description of the dress of the eighteenth century.



CHAPTER XVIII

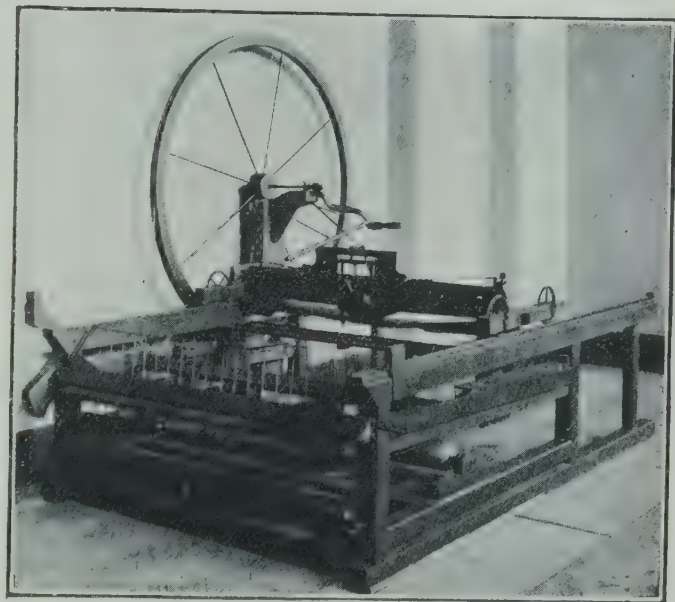
Changes in Industry in the Eighteenth Century

(i) *The Industrial Revolution*

THE first half of the eighteenth century was a period of great industrial and commercial development. The increased wealth of the country was being invested in trading enterprises in different parts of the world ; the growing British colonies were sending home larger and larger supplies of food and of raw materials of industry, and in exchange for these were demanding the manufactured articles which the mother-country was producing, and was now being called upon to supply in constantly increasing quantities. By the middle of the century, however, the demand for these manufactured articles had become so great that the merchants were finding it very difficult to meet it. Yet goods were being produced as rapidly as was possible under the circumstances. What was wanted was either more workers or different methods of manufacture. But more workers could not be obtained, for England was still a thinly peopled country—in 1750 the population was only about six and a half millions—and practically all the persons who could be employed for the purpose were engaged

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in the production of the goods required. This production was carried on largely in the homes of the workers. The craft system of the earlier centuries had given place in the sixteenth century to a *domestic system of industry*. The chief industry was the manufacture of woollen goods, and in the woollen areas whole families were engaged in the work, the younger children carding or cleaning the wool, the women and girls spinning it into yarn, the men and older boys weaving it into cloth. In the eastern counties, along the slopes of the



By permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office,
HARGREAVES' SPINNING-JENNY.

Pennines, and in the west of England, this work was being carried on, and spinning-wheel and weaving-loom were being put into motion by the hands and feet of the workers. But handwork was slow work; and, as workers were scarce, what was wanted was a new kind of machine, producing more rapidly, and driven by some form of power better than the power of arm and leg.

Now that there was a greater demand for textile goods, the machines were speedily forthcoming. In

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1767 a Lancashire weaver named Hargreaves invented a spinning machine called the spinning-jenny, that could spin eight threads at once instead of the one

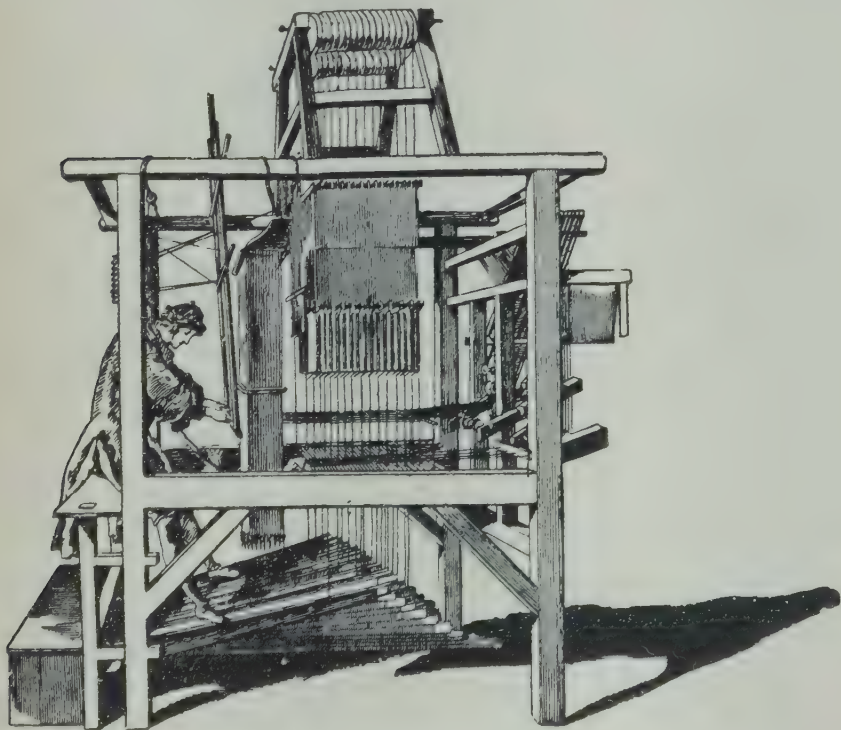


SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT.

thread of the old-fashioned spinning wheel. A Bolton barber named Richard Arkwright improved on this with a machine driven by water power, which also made stronger threads; a weaver named Crompton combined the two forms in 1779, in a spinning-

mule, which gave splendid results in quality and in quantity.

Up to now, spinning had been by far the slower process, for one weaver could use up in a day the yarn that a spinner took eight days to spin; but with the advent of the spinning machine all this was changed.



A HAND-LOOM WEAVER AT WORK.

Now yarn was accumulating and the weaver was getting behind-hand with his work. Little had been done to improve the weaving loom, except that in 1733 James Kay of Bury had invented a flying shuttle, which carried the weaving thread (the weft) across the loom mechanically backwards and forwards from side to side. This had made possible the weaving of wider pieces of cloth than had formerly been the case, for

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before this the weaver had been obliged to pass the thread across from hand to hand, and wider pieces had required two workers at one loom. Now in 1785 a Kentish clergyman named Edmund Cartwright invented a weaving loom which could be driven by some form of power, and soon his power loom was so much improved as to be an effective machine. All these inventions, we may notice, were applied first of all to the making of cotton goods, but soon they were transferred to the other textile industries of woollen and linen goods.

Now that power was being employed to drive machinery of these kinds, the problem of the best power to use was also important. In the seventeenth century many weavers had gone to the Pennine slopes because of the ample supply of water there ; but water was not a perfect source of power, for it was apt to fail in the hot weather ; and the problem was not solved until James Watt, a Glasgow maker of mathematical instruments, improved very considerably on existing steam-engines, and made the stationary steam-engine an effective means of producing power to drive machinery. Its original use had been to pump water from the coal-mines, which were being sunk more deeply into the ground as the coal nearer the surface was worked out.

Steam-engines and spinning and weaving machines required iron for their building, and soon iron smelting and iron forging increased in importance ; and the iron age came into being. Nor was it possible any longer to smelt and work the iron by the old-fashioned method of charcoal smelting still in use in many places.

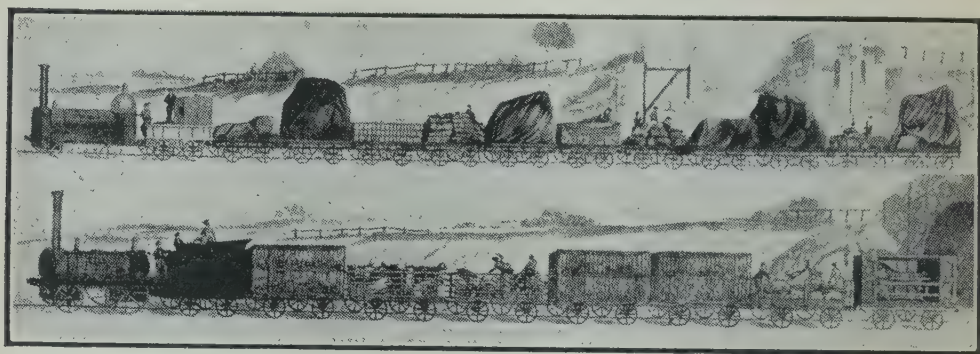


Smelting on a large scale demanded coal, and the coal industry became correspondingly important ; and the working of the iron was improved by better methods

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of puddling, and by the use of rollers for rolling out the iron bars, both these inventions being the work of Henry Cort.

The manufacture of iron machinery led in turn to great improvements in engineering, and finally to the manufacture of standardised parts. The pioneers of improvements in the engineering trades were Maudsley, who invented the slide-rest for holding tools firmly to the lathe ; and Nasymth, who improved the steam



GOODS TRAIN ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY, 1830.

hammer, and so got rid of much heavy manual work.

Goods for export could now be produced in sufficiently large quantities, even though the demand was an ever-increasing one, for machine-made goods could be produced more cheaply, and could therefore be sold more cheaply, and this resulted of course in an increased demand. Other manufactures too were developing at the same time, particularly the making of earthenware, which was carried on chiefly in the Potteries district. Much of the improvement in this particular branch of industry was due to the work of Josiah Wedgwood, a Burslem master-potter.

But the export of the goods produced, and the transfer of materials from one part of the country to another, were very much hampered by the bad state of the roads, and the consequent difficulties of communication. Pack-horses and lumbering wagons were still the best methods of transport that had been devised. The Duke of Bridgewater, who owned some collieries at Worsley, about seven miles from Manchester, found that the cost of transport had doubled



FIRST CLASS PASSENGER TRAIN WITH MAILS (ABOVE). SECOND CLASS PASSENGER TRAIN (BELOW). ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY, 1830.

the cost of the coal by the time it reached the Manchester consumers, and, with the help of a wheelwright named James Brindley, he had a canal constructed to carry the coal by means of barges. Brindley was a very remarkable man, and did much for the development of canals ; and soon the inland manufacturing centres were connected with one another and with the seaports by a series of canals. Greater attention too was paid to road making and road mending. Telford and Macadam did much in this direction ; Telford, too, was one of a number of clever bridge builders, who carried roads across the rivers by means of new and better bridges.

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In the early years of the nineteenth century came Trevithick and Blackett, and then George Stephenson with work that produced the locomotive engine, and made railways possible. The first railway was opened in 1825, between Stockton and Darlington ; the second in 1830 between Liverpool and Manchester. At first the trains ran only at about fifteen miles per hour ;



MANCHESTER IN 1730. BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL
REVOLUTION.

but their improvement has been continuous ever since. Steam, too, was applied to ships, and in 1812 a steamboat sailed upon the Clyde, while in 1828 a steamboat made the journey from the United States to England.

Some of the changes, however, in this great Industrial Revolution were by no means pleasing ones. The introduction of machinery took the work out of the homes of the people into newly built factories, and in

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most occupations the domestic system of industry came to an end, with considerable loss to the agricultural labourers, who had depended upon it as a means of adding to their wages. Elaborate machinery meant also that much capital was now necessary in order to commence business as cotton or woollen spinner or weaver ; and so the industry was gradually



Photo by Airco Aerials.

A PORTION OF MANCHESTER IN 1923. AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

reorganised upon a money basis, with large factories in which hundreds of people were employed. The use of steam as the common source of power acted also in the same direction, for steam could only be generated profitably on a large scale, and so could be used only where there was a large number of machines to be driven.

The growth of factories meant the growth also of

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towns: for the people moved to the areas in which the factories were situated, usually areas on or near the coal-fields or seaports, and England began to change into a country of towns and townspeople. But little or no care was taken to provide houses for these new town workers, and many of them were forced to live under dirty and insanitary conditions: it is estimated that about 1837 something like one-tenth of the population of Manchester was living in cellars; while the problem of the water supply and sanitation of the rapidly growing towns was hopelessly neglected. In 1685 about 80 per cent. of the English people were living in the country; by 1831 the rural population had fallen to 28 per cent. The people who benefited most from this rapid growth of urban areas were the owners of the land and dwelling-places, and the workers in the building trades; for there was now a great demand for builders of factories and workshops and houses, and for material for building purposes.

Another evil result of the change in its earlier stages was that many men lost their employment. In almost all industries machines were invented and introduced which could be managed quite easily by women and children, now that the machines were driven by steam. Ultimately the increased trade that resulted from the change of method absorbed all the workers and more; but at first this was not the case, and as the labour of women, and especially of children, was cheaper, the men lost their work. They naturally looked upon the new machines as the source of all their troubles, and in some parts of the country they began to riot and

destroy the machines and the factories containing them. Some of the worst of these riots were in the stocking-making districts, where the riots started^d through the efforts of a half-witted fellow named Ned^g Ludd. These Luddite riots were only ended by the execution of some of the rioters in 1811; a few years later the agricultural labourers attacked the new farming implements in the same way.

What was worse than this shifting of labour from men to women and children, was the treatment of the children employed. The nations of Europe were struggling against Napoleon, and there was a great demand for many kinds of manufactured articles, which Britain alone was able to supply; for she was free from invasion, and able to carry on her industries as usual, while her control of the seas gave her control of trade throughout the world. This great demand for goods led to long hours of labour for the women and children employed; and to very much brutality on the part of the overseers and foremen who were anxious to speed up production. It is terrible to think that little children of eight or nine years of age were compelled to work for as many as fifteen hours a day, in dirty, unventilated, evil-smelling factories, with very short or even no intervals for food and rest, and with little or nothing in the way of sanitary accommodation for them. Worse still was the fate of the pauper children of the workhouses, for in many cases they were sent out by the guardians as apprentices to the mill-owners, by whom they were very badly treated, being indeed little better than slaves. So terrible, in fact, was their treatment that in 1802 Parliament

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passed a Factory Act for their protection, the first of many Factory Acts which were passed during the nineteenth century to lighten the lot of the unfortunate workers in factories and workshops and mines. But this came later, and the story of the earlier days of the Industrial Revolution is a story which can only be read with sorrow and regret that such things were possible even for a time.

(ii) *The Agricultural Revolution*

These changes in methods of manufacture, which were so sudden and drastic as to be worthy of the title of a Revolution, were also accompanied by great changes in agriculture. In the Middle Ages land had been farmed on the open-field system, and in Tudor times this system was replaced in certain parts of England by a system of enclosed farms. In 1750, however, at least three-fifths of cultivated England was still being worked upon the old open-field system. Farmers are proverbially people who prefer to keep to existing methods as long as possible, and have little liking for change, and but little progress had been made in English farming for centuries. On the Continent, however, especially in Holland, there had been great improvements in methods of farming, and some of these had been to a certain extent adopted in England. In the reign of James I Dutch engineers had been employed by the Duke of Bedford to drain the Fenland, and turn it into agricultural land, and much good work had been done until it was stopped by the Civil War. But, after that, little was done until the eighteenth

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century, when once again men began to be interested in agriculture.

The time had come when a change in method was absolutely necessary in the open-field areas. The ground had been worked continuously all through



PLOUGHS IN USE IN ENGLAND IN 1748.

(e) Breast-plough pushed along by a man; (c) plough and drill; (a) Lincolnshire plough for land with weeds and sedges; (b) Sussex; (h) Hertfordshire, one of best; (i) Cambridgeshire, very heavy; (k) the four-coulter plough; (l) common two-wheeled plough; (f) best for sandy lands; (g) best for clay and wet lands.

the centuries, and now needed rest, while the pasture land could be ploughed up to serve as arable in its place. There was little or no drainage of the land, and much of it was therefore water-logged at certain seasons of the year; much was sour or worn out with constant use; in most places weeds were only

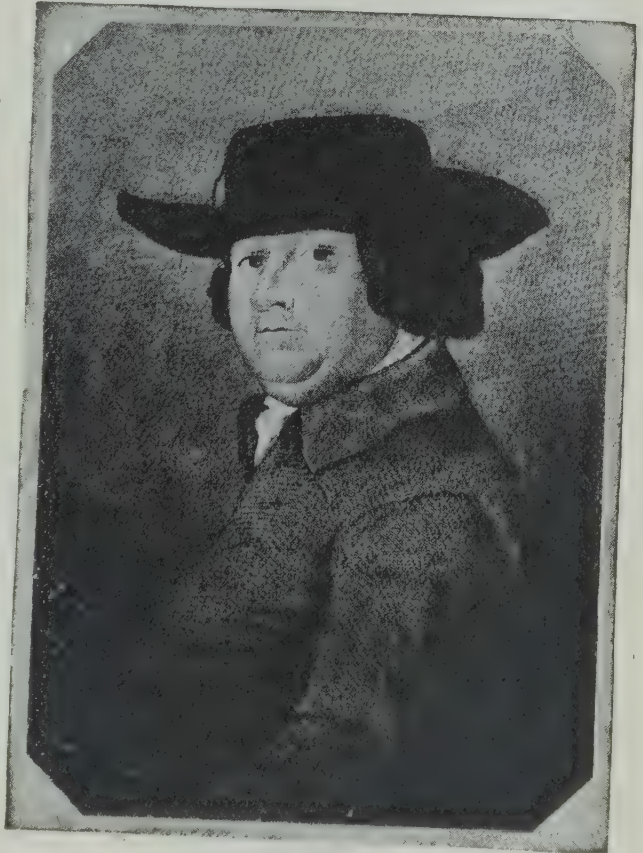
too plentiful. As long as cattle and sheep ran together on the common pasture, too, there was plentiful risk of plague and disease; and there was no incentive to the farmer to try to improve the breed of any kind of live-stock.

But in the eighteenth century there was beginning to be a greater demand for all kinds of agricultural produce; and this encouraged farming. What was wanted was that some person of importance with a large estate should set an example in improving his land, and then progress would be assured. The example was set in 1730 by Lord Townshend, the brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole. He quarrelled with Walpole, gave up politics in disgust, and retired to his farm in Norfolk, where he started to carry out improvements. An Englishman named Jethro Tull had already shown the importance of sowing seed in rows by means of a drill, so that the space between the rows could be worked with a horse-hoe and kept clear of weeds, and Townshend adopted Tull's methods, and also introduced a new fourfold rotation of crops (turnips, barley, clover, and wheat), which did away with the old system of leaving one-third of the land fallow each year. The greatest of his successors was Thomas Coke of Holkham, who improved on Townshend's work, and soon made his lands very productive. The example of these pioneers was followed by the surrounding farmers, and soon Norfolk became famous as an agricultural county, and these methods spread to other counties also.

All these improvements were associated with arable farming, but other persons were busy also trying to

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improve the breeds of cattle and sheep in the country. Up to now the ox had been used as a draught animal, and so had been bred with long legs and powerful shoulders. Now that horses were being used for draught purposes, cattle were required which would give supplies of good beef to the markets of the growing towns. In the same way, sheep which had been valued only for their wool, were now valued for their flesh also. Many farmers worked very successfully to produce these new breeds of animals, the most famous being a Leicestershire farmer named Robert Bakewell, who produced a new breed of sheep which gave both wool and mutton, and set an example to many other farmers to try to improve their breeds of sheep and cattle also. Another famous pioneer was Arthur Young, who was a very successful writer on agricultural topics, and did much to spread a knowledge of the new methods by his writings. The Government



ROBERT BAKEWELL.

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helped, too, and a Board of Agriculture was founded in 1793, with Young as its secretary.

But very little progress was possible where the land was still cultivated upon the open-field system ; and, the change in method was accompanied by a great amount of enclosure of land. The enclosures that had been made in Tudor times had been made for sheep farming ; enclosures were now made for a very different purpose. Unfortunately, however, in this case, as in Tudor times, enclosure was not carried out without a great deal of hardship to the poor. There were still in the country large numbers of small farmers and yeomen freeholders who held their own small estates, and were in many respects the backbone of the country-side. But farming was now being carried out on a larger scale, and required more capital than these smaller men had got. Many of them, therefore, sold their land to the larger landowners, and went into the newly-forming towns of the industrial areas to become factory owners there. Their departure was a great loss to the country-side.

Worse still was the lot of the men with smaller holdings, and the labourers who worked upon the larger farms. They had depended very much upon their share in the common pasture, and this was now taken from them by its enclosure. At the same time the growth of factories was putting an end to the old domestic system of industry, and so was depriving these country workers of yet another source of income, at a time when prices were rising for all the necessities of life.

The fault lay, not so much in enclosure, as in the

way in which it was carried out. It was all done quickly and by Act of Parliament, and the advantage was with the rich, who could employ lawyers and other agents to get the work done in their own interests. For enclosure could not be carried out without money, and even when a poor man received a portion of land to compensate him for his loss of common rights, he might not be able to bear the cost of enclosing it with fences, or even of paying his share of the expenses involved in obtaining the Act of Parliament that permitted the enclosure to be made. Hence the improvements that followed from these changes in agricultural methods were in many cases brought about at the expense of the poor. The poor rates increased in the country districts, and many of the dispossessed workers moved off to the new industrial centres to get work there. There were fewer people left in the rural areas, and these were now either landowners, tenant farmers, or labourers, as they are to-day. The yeomanry and other small freeholders who had been an important class of country people had practically disappeared.

Masséna Soult	Treaty of Amiens 1801 1802	Union of Great Britain and Ireland	Wordsworth Coleridge
Ney	Battle of Trafalgar 1805		Sir J. Moore
	Peninsular War (1808-14)	Abolition of Slave Trade	Wellesley, Lord Wellington
Blücher Metternich	Retreat from Moscow Battle of the Nations 1811 1812 1813	Luddite Riots First successful steamboat	
	Battle of Waterloo 1815	Corn Law forbidding importation of corn until price 80s. per quarter	Castlereagh
		Peterloo "Massacre" Death of George III	Byron Shelley Keats

EXERCISES

1. Find out what changes came in the district in which you live as a result of the Industrial Revolution.
2. Make a study of the early types of engines shown in the pictures on pages 458 and 459; and compare with the engine on page 492.
3. Analyse the map on page 457, drawing separate maps to show (a) the canals; (b) districts where domestic industry was carried on; (c) areas of greatest population. Make from your atlas a map of the railway systems of England to-day, to compare with (a), and a population map of England to-day to compare with (b).
4. What are the chief farming products of your own locality? Try to account for the farmers producing these particular products there.
5. Write descriptions of a typical country town and its inhabitants before and after the Industrial Revolution. You can get help from such novels as *Cranford*, *Shirley*, *North and South*, *Mary Barton*, etc.

CHAPTER XIX

Progress towards Democracy

(i) *Days of Reaction, 1815-1830*

THE great change in society that resulted from the Industrial Revolution meant of necessity a change also in the constitution and aims of political parties, and in the methods of election to Parliament. The power of the land-owning classes was now to be challenged by the new manufacturing and commercial interests. In 1815 some reform in this direction was long overdue; the younger Pitt had been ready to make a change in 1785; but the French Revolution and the struggle with Napoleon altered the outlook of the governing classes completely. Anything savouring of *reform* was looked upon with the greatest suspicion; to many of the English people, and especially to the great landowners and the aristocracy generally, reform meant revolution and all the evils that had followed revolution in France.

The result was that the years between 1815 and 1830 were dark ones in English history. The war period was followed by a period of unemployment, for the people of the Continent were too poor to buy British products, and the National Debt had risen to £861,000,000, with an annual interest of over £32,000,000—a heavy

burden for the population of nineteen million people in a Britain which was not yet very rich. Food prices were high, for, in the course of the struggle with Napoleon, Corn Laws had been established to encourage



wheat growing and protect the farmer from loss. In 1815 one of these Acts forbade the importation of corn until the home price was 80 shillings a quarter; in the next years there were bad harvests, and food became scarce and dear. Housing conditions were very bad

indeed, as a result of the rapid growth of the towns, and there was much poverty and distress. There were many Englishmen who saw that this state of things demanded immediate alteration, and a number of Radical reformers joined together, and moved about the country, agitating for reform. They included William Cobbett, a clever journalist who also did much to influence public opinion by his weekly paper, *The Political Register*, Major Cartwright, and a popular agitator called "Orator" Hunt.

At the end of 1816 a meeting of reformers in Spa Fields, Bermondsey, which was addressed by Orator Hunt, was followed by a riotous march on the City of London; the Prince Regent was assaulted in the next year on his way to open Parliament; and there was much agitation in the north of England. The Government took alarm and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, but restored it next year. In 1819 a meeting in favour of reform was held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, and was to be addressed by Orator Hunt. The Yeomanry were ordered to arrest him, and attacked the crowd. Several persons were killed, and a large number injured, and the affair became known as the "Peterloo massacre." The Government, in alarm, passed a series of repressive measures known as the *Six Acts*, to prevent all agitation for reform.

But reform was inevitable, and proposals for the relief of the Catholics and the reform of Parliament were brought forward in the Commons, but were regularly defeated by the Tory majority there. Some of the Whigs were now interesting themselves in matters of reform; notably Lord John Russell and

P. Geoffrey Chaucer

Guido Guinicelli

Jane the Queen

Chas. Wren

Palmerston

W. Dean

George

Napoleon

Boat's Ark

Horatio Nelson

Le Duc de
Marborough

Charles Dickens

W. H. W. W.

George R. J.

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A PAGE OF AUTOGRAPHS.

(See foot-note on next page.)

Lord Brougham, and, in spite of the resistance of the Government, some progress was made. Much of the Radical agitation was under the clever direction of a Charing Cross tailor, named Francis Place, who had been a working tailor himself, and knew something of the troubles of the working classes. Two things especially hindered them: one, the Combination Acts, which dated from the Middle Ages, but had been strengthened by Pitt in the stress of the Napoleonic wars. These Acts made it illegal for workers to combine in Unions for better pay or shorter hours of work, and thus left them at the mercy of their employers. Thanks largely to Place these Acts were repealed in 1824, though a series of strikes which followed immediately caused a modified form of the Act to be retained; and in 1833 six Dorsetshire labourers were transported to Australia for conspiring against their employers. The other hindrance, the Act of Settlement of 1662, made it difficult for a worker to move from his own parish to settle in another, where he could find work, for fear he should become chargeable to the poor-rate of his new parish; and this Act also was removed at the same time.

In 1827 Lord Liverpool retired and was succeeded by Canning. The new Prime Minister was prepared for social reforms, though he was opposed to any alteration of the parliamentary system. Unfortunately he died in the same year, and after a short

Most of these autographs are clear: Jane the Queen is Lady Jane Grey; Palmerston's is from the "scrap of paper," the Belgian Treaty of 1839, and is three-fifths of actual size; the next is an abbreviated signature of Shakespeare's; Napoleon's is three-quarters of actual size; the first Nelson signature is one of the last written with his right hand, the next one of the first written with his left hand after the loss of his right arm, 1797; Marlborough was Prince of Mindelheim, hence form of signature; George V signs as a King and Emperor.

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interval Wellington, who was opposed to all reform, became Prime Minister. He had as his subordinates, however, Tories who were of a more liberal turn of mind; and in 1828 the Test Act and Corporation Act were repealed. In the same year a Catholic orator, Daniel O'Connell, was elected member for Clare, and in 1829 a Catholic Emancipation Act was passed which admitted Catholics to Parliament, and to all public offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In the next year a new French Revolution removed the King of France from his throne, and was followed by revolutions in other parts of Europe. It was a time when all reformers were pinning their faith to parliamentary reform; extensions of the franchise—that is, of the right to a vote—were expected to work wonders in relieving discontent and misgovernment, and the demand for an extended franchise was urged with redoubled vigour after the continental revolutions and uprisings of 1830.

(ii) *Franchise and Free Trade*

The cause of Parliamentary reform in Britain was fought by the Whigs under the leadership of Lord Grey, who had been connected with every reform movement since 1785, and Lord John Russell, and the Tory followers of Canning supported their efforts; but the old-fashioned Tories, whose leader was the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, were totally opposed to all measures of reform. His Ministry fell, however, in November 1830, and was succeeded by a combination of Whigs and Canningites under Lord

Grey. In 1831 this Ministry introduced a Reform Bill, which was carried in the Commons by a majority of one vote. The Government dissolved Parliament on the question of reform, and was returned to office with a Whig majority. A second Reform Bill was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords; and its



AN OLD-FASHIONED ELECTION. CANVASSING FOR VOTES.
From a painting by Hogarth.

rejection caused a great deal of excitement. There was rioting in many of the large towns, and much damage was done. At Nottingham the Castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was burned down; at Bristol also, the damage was very serious.

Meanwhile, a third Reform Bill was introduced in December 1831, and passed through the Commons with a large majority. But the majority of the Lords

were still opposed to the Bill, and there were hints that it would be rejected. The supporters of the Bill threatened to abstain from the payment of all taxes, and there was fear of revolution. Lord Grey asked the King, William IV, to promise to create enough new peers to get a majority in the Lords; but the king refused and the Ministry resigned office. Wellington, however, was unable to form a Ministry, for feeling in the country was strongly in favour of reform, and the king was forced to recall Lord Grey and to promise to create the necessary peers. The threat of the new peers, however, was sufficient. In June 1832, when the Bill came before the Lords again, Wellington and his supporters abstained from voting and the Bill was passed.

It was by no means a revolutionary measure of reform. Fifty-six "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs were completely disfranchised; thirty boroughs lost one member each. Twenty-two large towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, were given two members; twenty-one others were given one member each. The ninety-four county members were increased to one hundred and fifty-nine. The conditions governing the right to vote were also changed. In the towns all householders who paid £10 a year in rent were given a vote; in the counties all holders of the old forty shilling franchise were allowed to keep their votes; in addition, all copyholders and long leaseholders, and tenants paying a rent of £50 a year were made voters also.

This was a very modest measure of reform indeed, but it was, nevertheless, a very important one, for

it marked the end of the control of national affairs by the aristocracy and landed gentry. Power now passed into the hands of the middle classes, whose numbers had been very largely increased by the Industrial Revolution. But the Radicals, who had



National Portrait Gallery.

A MEETING OF THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT, 1833.
From a painting by Sir G. Hayter.

looked forward to this step as only a beginning, were disappointed, for the Whigs who had carried the reform were quite content to rest on their oars for a time, and many years went by before a second Reform Bill made further extensions of the franchise.

It was sufficient, however, that a change had been made, and made so peaceably too ; and it is interesting

to see what work was done by the first Reformed Parliament, which followed the passing of the Bill. One of its first acts was to emancipate the slaves in the colonies, and to compensate their owners to the tune of £20,000,000. It passed a Factory Act, improving the conditions of labour of women and children in the factories; it voted a small sum of money to help voluntary societies, which were doing something to provide schools and elementary education for the children of the poor. All this was in 1833, and in the next year a Poor Law Amendment Act changed the whole system of poor relief which had grown up by alterations in Elizabeth's Poor Law Act of 1601.

The most important of these alterations had been the Act of Settlement of 1662, of which we have already spoken; permission for parishes to join together in Unions and build larger workhouses, 1723; and an Act of Parliament of 1783 which *permitted* the Guardians of the Poor and Justices of the Peace in the union areas to let the able-bodied poor take what work they could get in the parish, and then add to their wages enough poor relief to enable them to live.

In 1795, as a result of this permission, the Justices of Berkshire, meeting at Speenhamland, were faced by the difficulty of the increasing cost of food as a result of the war, and the inability of the wages of the agricultural labourer to keep pace with this increase in the cost of living, and they decided to make a scale of relief to bring wages up to the amount necessary for subsistence. This "dole" was made to depend upon the number of persons in a family and upon the price of bread—that is, it was increased if the price of bread

rose. When bread was one shilling a gallon, a single man had three shillings and sixpence, and a married couple four and sixpence, and an extra one and sixpence was allowed for every child under seven. The framers of the scheme meant well, but its results were quite disastrous. The farmers could now pay insufficient wages, for the poor-rate would and did make up the deficiency; and there was a danger that the agricultural workers would all become paupers, and lose their self-respect. Also the finding of the money for the poor-rate reduced some parts of the country to bankruptcy, for in many areas the poor-rate rose to an alarming extent.

This was the system that was cleared away by the Reformed Parliament, after it had received the report of a Commission that had been appointed to look into the matter. Under the new system that now replaced it, out-door relief was done away with, except for the old and feeble. If an able-bodied person required help, he had to enter the workhouse. Also the relief that was given was always to be such as to make anyone receiving it prefer to work for wages, if he could get work. This measure was very successful, but it met with a great deal of opposition, especially in the north of England, and it caused the Government to become unpopular in many areas.

Nor was the Government very popular in other ways, though it had been elected by a majority of 486 to 172; and in 1834 it broke down upon a question relating to Ireland, and was replaced by a new Whig Ministry, under Lord Melbourne, who had been in his earlier days a Canningite Tory. He lost office, how-

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ever, almost at once, and a Tory Government came into power, under Sir Robert Peel, who tried to reform the Tory party as a Conservative party. When a general election took place in 1835, Peel was defeated and Melbourne came back to power. His Government continued the work of reform by a Municipal Reform Act, 1835, which gave all men paying the poor-rate and borough rate a vote in the election of the government of the borough, and instituted new Town Councils to carry on that government. It was more than time that such measures were passed ; the government of the towns had been practically unchanged since the Middle Ages, and had fallen into the hands of a few persons in each town who were ruling corruptly in their own interests.

One other matter that had engaged the attention of successive Governments since 1815 was the question of Free Trade. From the fifteenth century onward taxes had been placed upon almost all articles of import and export in order to protect British manufacturers and farmers from foreign competition. We have already spoken of the tax on imported corn ; this was only one of a thousand taxes of a similar kind, which were placed upon almost all imported manufactured goods and raw material. But now manufacturers were very doubtful whether these taxes did help the development of trade ; and many of them came to the conclusion that they were really very serious hindrances, and no help at all. William Pitt was in favour of the removal of these trading restrictions, but the war with Napoleon stopped all movements in the direction of freedom of trade.

After the war the manufacturers and shippers began to work for the removal of the duties ; but the farmers and landowners were very anxious to see their particular Corn Laws retained. In 1820 the merchants of London petitioned Parliament to remove the taxes ; and in 1823, Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, began to reduce the duties on many imported



A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

Cobden is addressing the Council. Bright is seated and holds a sheet of paper in his hands.

raw materials and manufactured articles. He also took away the worst features of the Navigation Acts, and started free trade between Ireland and Great Britain. The results of his action proved very good for trade ; but for a time no further reductions were made, because everybody was interested, for the moment, in the fight for the first Reform Bill.

After 1832, however, the Free Trade struggle was renewed ; and in 1842 and 1845 Sir Robert Peel, who

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was then Prime Minister, took off many duties altogether, and reduced the others very considerably. But the one set of duties which still remained untouched was the set connected with food supplies, for the farming interest was strong enough to resist all attempts to interfere with these. Now, however, the manufacturers of Lancashire had also become a very strong section of the community, and they were very much interested in cheap food, because cheap food meant better workers and lower wages than could otherwise be the case. There was, therefore, a great demand throughout the country for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and an Anti-Corn Law League was formed in London, 1836, and in Manchester, 1838. Two Lancashire manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, came forward as leaders of the movement for repeal, and their strenuous work and the work of many others who helped them convinced many people of the need for repeal.

But Sir Robert Peel himself was as yet unconvinced, when in 1845 there was a wet autumn and a consequent bad harvest. It was followed by a sharp rise in the price of bread, and there was much distress in the country. Worse still, the potato crop failed in Ireland, and famine was inevitable there unless measures were taken to prevent it. Peel saw that repeal was inevitable, and brought in a Bill for the purpose. Some of his Conservative followers objected strongly, but with the help of the Whigs or Liberals, as they were now beginning to be called, the Corn Laws were abolished. They were the last stronghold of those who supported protection, and in a few years Britain had become in

all respects a free trade country. Duties were no longer imposed to help trade or agriculture; whatever duties were placed upon imports and exports were imposed for revenue purposes; that is, to find the money necessary to carry on the government of the country.

(*For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XXII.*)

EXERCISES

1. Arrange the series of autographs on page 476 in chronological order. Make traces of these autographs for your autograph album, and try to add other copies to them.

2. Compare the boundaries, etc., of the European States in 1812 (map on page 424), with those of the States in 1815 (map on page 474).

3. Write a description of an election before the days of reform. Use the picture on page 479, and others in the same election series by Hogarth; the account of the Eatanswill election in *Pickwick Papers*; and any other sources of information you can discover.

4. Find out all you can about Hogarth and his work.

5. Find out arguments for and against the protection of food and industries by tariffs.

CHAPTER XX

The Victorian Era

THE changes that had been taking place for a period of well-nigh one hundred years, and had been retarded by the great French wars, became clearly visible during the reign of Queen Victoria. The Industrial Revolution, the growth of a second great British Empire, the rapid increase in wealth and prosperity, all these things had been causing great alterations in the outlook of the British people. The older landed aristocracy was losing its control of the Government, and was passing away, and this change was carrying with it whatever remained of the older feudal ideas of society that had persisted in rural England. England was becoming, for better or for worse, a land of industrial and commercial towns; its people mainly town livers. Before the great Victorian era closed the Government had become really a democracy, with a sovereign who was content to rule as the constitutional head of a limited monarchy. Power was in the hands of the people, and could be exercised by them through their representatives in Parliament. It was a great and a wonderful change that had taken place, and none the less wonderful in that it had been brought about from beginning to end almost entirely by orderly evo-

lution, at a time, when, on more than one occasion, Europe was disturbed by the sound of revolution in many lands.

George III died in 1820, and was succeeded by two of his sons in turn, the worthless George IV (1820-1830), and the harmless William IV. Then in 1837 a young girl of nineteen ascended the throne. She was to rule the country for sixty-four years, and in these years Britain was to pass through a period of remarkable changes which make the Victorian era comparable in some respects with the spacious days of great Elizabeth.

The first years of the era are marked by the dominance of the middle classes, whose steady rise to power we have been tracing ever since the time of the Tudors; the later years witness the advent of democracy, and the rule of the people. It is a period of great progress, and of great success in material things; above all, it is a period of great scientific developments, and of the application of those developments to commerce and industry. The wealth of the nation increased by leaps and bounds: it has been estimated that the average income per head of population was £150 in 1837; fifty years later it was £256 per head. The revenue in 1792 was less than 20 million pounds; in 1915 it was over 270 millions. This great treasure in wealth was shared, too, in varying degree, by all sections of society, and the standard of comfort rose considerably. The Great Exhibition, which was opened by the Queen in 1851, showed the world some of the results of these extraordinary developments.

The young queen took a keen interest from the beginning in the affairs of the nation, and showed a certain obstinacy of purpose in her desire to share in the direction of those affairs. She was guided by Lord Melbourne, the Whig Prime Minister, who performed this difficult task with great discretion and success, until in 1840 her marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-



THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION, 1851.

Coburg brought Melbourne's work to an end. It was a particularly happy marriage, and the queen suffered greatly by the untimely death of the Prince Consort in 1861. The life of the court changed entirely from the life of the courts of their predecessors; the Queen and Prince Consort set an example of good living and sobriety of conduct which was very popular with the people. It was reflected also in the general life of the people, and the era may well be called an

era of humanitarianism : indeed, in many sections of society the general tone was even sentimental ; and sentimentalism has been considered the mark of the age.

The results of this are to be seen in many directions. There was great progress in social legislation ; Factory Acts did away with some of the worst evils of the Industrial Revolution ; Sir Robert Peel, one of the most conscientious of Victorian Prime Ministers, and Lord John Russell, removed the worst severities of the horrible penal code by reducing the number of crimes punishable by death, until at last murder alone remained as a capital offence. In 1800 more than 200 offences had been punishable by death, and two-thirds of these had been added in the course of the eighteenth century. Peel also improved the methods adopted for securing the safety of the streets by forming in 1829 an efficient police force, the members of which were for a long time known as Peelers, or Bobbies. Slavery was abolished throughout the Empire in 1833 ; and greater care was taken for the welfare of the people at home, and especially for the greater happiness of the children. People lost the roughness and coarseness that had marked the preceding century ; there was a distinctly higher tone of manners, and more gentleness and refinement and moderation in people's habits. The nation became soberer, the taste in amusements and recreations rose as time went on, and before the close of Victoria's reign efforts were being made by the municipalities to cater for these tastes by means of public parks, recreation grounds, museums, art galleries, and public free libraries and reading-rooms.

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Above all things the nineteenth century is the century of scientific progress. The developments in railway communication continued, and made communication possible and easy throughout the country. By 1860 most of our great railway systems had been planned, and many were in actual operation. Better carriages were built, with faster engines to move them ; inventions were brought forward to make travelling safer also. In 1846 a Cheap Trains Act compelled the

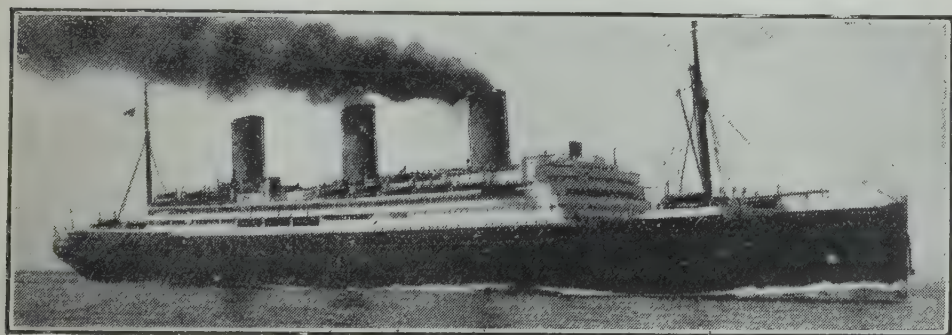


A PRESENT-DAY FAST GOODS TRAIN.

provision of one train per day in each direction at a fare of one penny per mile ; and since 1872, when the Midland Railway began to run third-class carriages on all their passenger trains, the cheaper passengers have been well catered for. Steam, too, was employed more and more on ocean-going vessels, and the vessels increased in size, until we have the great ocean liners of to-day, replete with comforts of all kinds. Now steam is passing away as a source of motive power,

and its place is being taken by petrol and electricity ; and all boys and girls know something of the results of these new sources of power in the tram and tube train, the omnibus and motor-car, and last of all, the aeroplane.

In other wonderful ways, too, means of communication were improved, and the ends of the earth were linked together. The telegraph was first used publicly in 1838, and was followed by the submarine cable in 1850. Still more useful was the invention and use of



CUNARD R.M.S. *BERENGARIA*.

One of the largest liners afloat.

the telephone in 1876 ; now we are becoming accustomed to the various uses of wireless telegraphy, with its value as a link between ships at sea, its help in war-time, and its latest development as a means of broadcasting information and amusement. All these important inventions had a great effect upon methods of business ; the nineteenth century saw a great commercial revolution resulting from the industrial revolution that had preceded it. The great extension of postal facilities played its part here also ; penny postage was introduced in 1840, and was followed by money orders, postal orders, post office savings banks,

and the parcel post. Better methods of copying, improvements in the printing presses, and above all the introduction of the typewriter, 1857, added to the changes that were taking place.

But this is only one of the many aspects of scientific progress in this great scientific era, nor can we mention all the directions in which it extended. We may, however, mention the progress in photography both for business purposes and as an interesting hobby ; and the utilisation of different materials for lighting purposes which have made the farthing dip of the early century a thing unknown. Coal-gas, petroleum, and then electricity have revolutionised the lighting of our streets and public buildings, and of our homes. Gas was first used to light the streets of London in 1810. These sources of light and heat are useful also for cooking and for industrial purposes. Matches, which ignited by friction, displaced the old tinder-box with its flint and steel, in 1830.

Perhaps the most important scientific developments have been associated with medicine and surgery. Much valuable research work has been done in the endeavour to prevent diseases by finding out their causes in order to remove them ; and the work has been aided by the higher standard of cleanliness which is a feature of the century, and by the efforts made to bring sanitation into our towns and homes. Smallpox, one of the worst diseases in earlier centuries, is now a disease of rarer occurrence, and, thanks to careful notification of the disease and isolation of suspected persons, is usually quickly stamped out. Many doctors claim that this is due to vaccination, which was introduced

by Dr. Jenner towards the close of the eighteenth century, though others do not agree. But, whatever the reason, the result is certain. Researches into the causes of many other diseases have been made with great success : we may mention particularly the work of Sir Ronald Ross in his efforts to combat malarial fever while working in India. He has been able to trace the spread of the disease to the work of the mosquito, and so to suggest a method of preventing its occurrence. Other workers have shown the world how to use chloroform and other anæsthetics to make operations painless ; more recently, X and other rays, radium and other substances, have been placed at the disposal of the surgeon with very beneficial results.

The spirit of greater humanity which we have suggested as so characteristic of the age is to be seen also in the better care of the sick at home and in hospital ; the greater attention paid to the insane and feeble-minded, a matter in which much still remains to be done ; and the care of children, and the place they now occupy in home and school. We may well call the end of the century the children's golden period.

Another feature of the Victorian era has been the rapid spread of education, and the great improvement in the methods employed. At the beginning of the century the ignorance of the great majority of the English people was almost inconceivable. An improvement was begun by the Charity schools and Sunday schools of the eighteenth century : they were followed by two societies, one, the National Society, 1811, associated with the Church of England ; the other, the British and Foreign Schools Society, 1810,

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with the Nonconformist bodies. These societies built schools and trained teachers, and by 1833 were educating over a million and a quarter children. The money for their work was raised chiefly by private subscription, but, with the gift of the vote to the working classes, education became a concern of the Government, for an ignorant democracy was a real danger to the State.



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SHELLEY.

From a painting by Miss A. Curran.

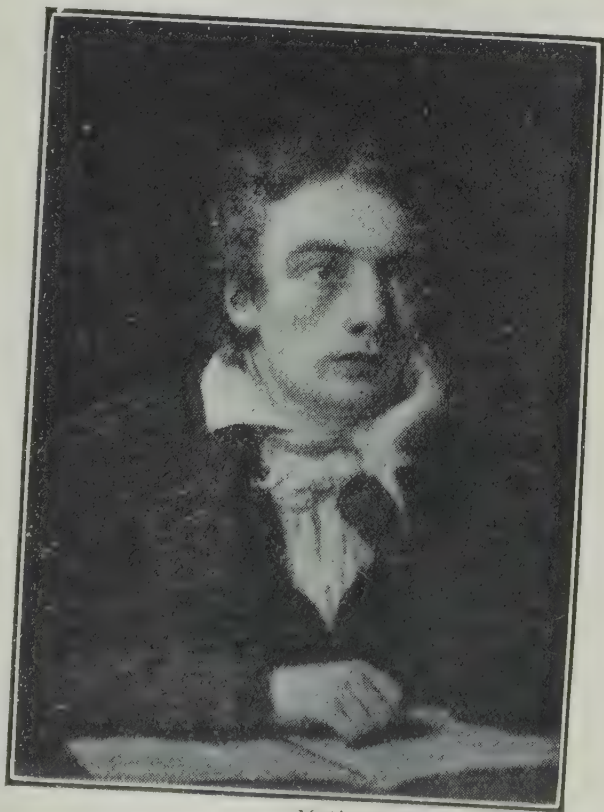
When Queen Victoria came to the throne 40 per cent of the men and 65 per cent of the women of England could not sign their names. "We must induce our masters to learn their letters," said Mr. Robert Lowe, when introducing a new Education Bill in 1861; and the Franchise Act of 1867 made this education a real necessity. In

1833 the first Reformed Parliament had made a grant of £20,000 to the Voluntary Societies; in 1839 this grant was increased to £30,000, and inspectors were appointed to inspect all schools which were aided by the State. Greater help was given in succeeding years, and finally, in 1870, when Gladstone was Prime Minister, an Act of Parliament was introduced by Mr. Forster,

which allowed any district which desired it to set up a School Board, with power to levy a rate for educational purposes and to build Board Schools. This was the beginning of great advances in education. In 1876 an Act compelled parents to send their children to school; in 1891, education in the Board Schools was made free; and at the same time the standard of instruction and the nature of the subjects taught were continually improved.

Other changes followed, until in 1902 the School Boards were abolished, and the care of education was placed in the hands of the County and County Borough Councils. These authorities were also given power to deal with the pro-

vision of better secondary (or higher) education, for England was very much behind other countries in its provision of secondary, technical, and commercial education. So the work has continued; children who need it may now receive food also; efforts have also been made to provide efficient medical inspection for all



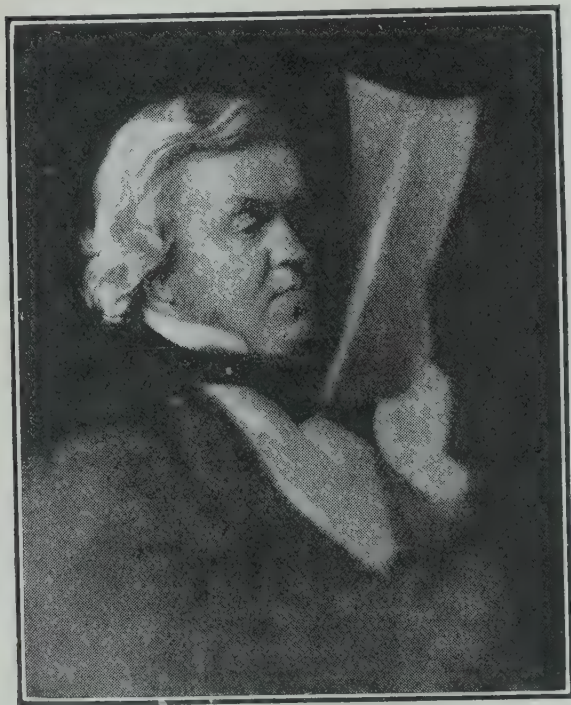
National Portrait Gallery.

KEATS.

From a miniature by Joseph Severn.

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children in the schools. Girls particularly have gained from these developments, for while there was provision for boys in the usual town and country grammar schools, there was little or no provision for girls except in private schools, which taught accomplishments and deportment and such things, to the neglect of real



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THACKERAY.

From a painting by Laurence.

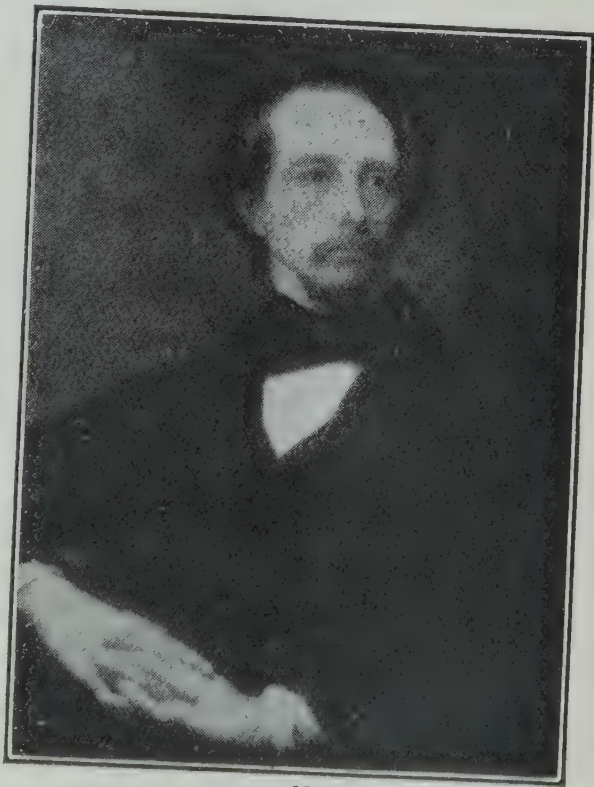
education. University education has also improved very considerably, and new modern universities have been established in many parts of England, which train their students upon a wide curriculum, and are in close touch with modern needs, while the older universities have awakened to the great possibilities they have as leaders of thought in

the country. The modern universities now receive aid from the Government in carrying on their work. Mechanics' Institutes, University Extension Lectures, and other organisations have been founded to give education to adults, who would not otherwise have benefited by the advances that have been made.

These extensions of education have been reflected in many ways in the life of the people. The circle of

readers of books and papers has widened enormously, and early in the century the "taxes on knowledge" had to be repealed. The end of the system of licensing publications came in 1695; before the end of the eighteenth century the law of libel was also amended; but in the reactionary years that followed Waterloo fresh laws for the punishment of libel were passed, and heavy duties on political newspapers and on their advertisements made the price of newspapers very high, and, therefore, restricted their circulation. It was Mr. Gladstone who altered this: the Stamp Act was reduced by him in 1836, and abolished

in 1855; the duty on advertisements had been removed two years earlier; and in 1861 the abolition of the duty on paper made cheap literature a reality. Since then the inventions we have already mentioned have done still more to improve the methods of producing books and newspapers; alterations in the law of copyright have helped considerably; and now free lending



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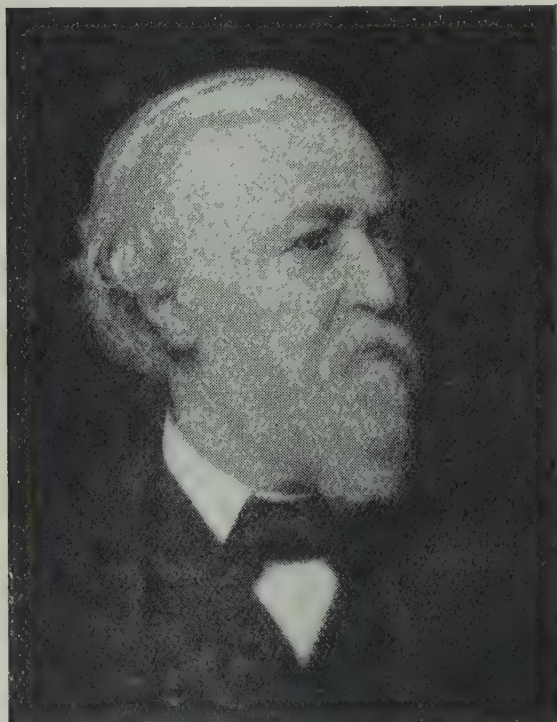
DICKENS.

From a portrait by Schaffer.

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libraries make it possible for all to keep in touch with modern ideas and extend their knowledge of older ones.

As might be expected, the Victorian era was a very prolific era in literary production. When Victoria came to the throne a great number of very important



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ROBERT BROWNING.

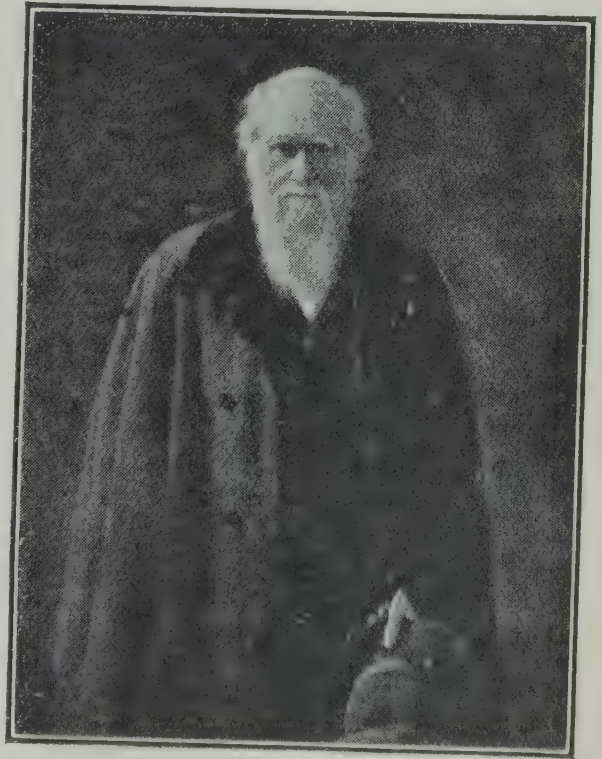
writers were just beginning their work. Shelley, Byron, and Keats were dead, and Wordsworth's most important work was finished, but their influence was all-powerful over the young men and women who were now beginning to write. The Victorian authors could be sure of a large audience, and of a great influence over the minds of that audience. The

most distinctive form of literature of the era was probably the novel. At the beginning of the century came Sir Walter Scott with his historical romances, and Jane Austen with her descriptions of the life of the middle classes. In Victoria's reign came Thackeray and Dickens, Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot; and these were followed by a host of others, including Meredith, Hardy, and Stevenson. Poetry took on a

new inspiration from Shelley and Keats, and the Victorian poets are renowned. They include Robert and Elizabeth Browning, Tennyson, Arnold, William Morris, Swinburne and a glorious company of lesser lights. Many of their poems must be familiar to the readers of this book. The early nineteenth century

was also the era of the great literary and critical magazines and reviews, such as *Blackwood's*, *The Edinburgh*, and *The Quarterly*.

Among the contributors to these were Lamb, Lockhart, De Quincey, and Hazlitt in the first years of the century; Carlyle, Macaulay, Froude and Ruskin, in the early years of Victoria's reign; and Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Lang,



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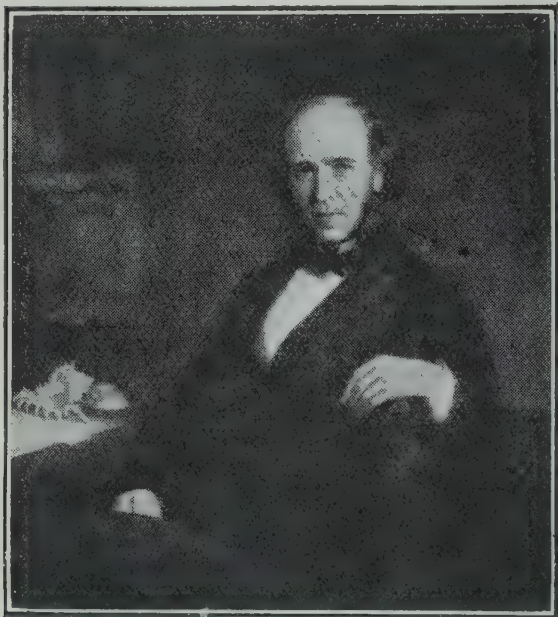
CHARLES DARWIN.

From a painting by the Hon. J. Collier.

Stevenson and many others in her later years. History, biography, philosophy, and other forms of literature were all represented by writers of great ability; and the whole literature is tinged with the new scientific knowledge for which this period is above all things famous. Some of the scientific works of the century are indeed among its most notable achieve-

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ments in the realm of literature; in 1859 Charles Darwin published the *Origin of the Species by means of Natural Selection*, a book applying the doctrines of evolution to the development of plant and animal forms, and Herbert Spencer applied the same doctrine to the foundation of a system of philosophy. Thanks to the work of many gifted scientific writers, this



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HERBERT SPENCER.

From a painting by Burgess.

theory of evolution is found in all branches of intellectual work; and the Victorian era is an era of great scientific workers, who include Tyndall, Kelvin, Huxley, and many others. In art, too, there were great workers: Turner, Watts, Holman Hunt, Millais, and a number of others whose pictures are known to all of us.

In architecture, there was a return to classical forms on the one hand and to Gothic on the other; and many buildings were erected in town and country.

The levelling-up process that resulted from the wide extension of education and the democratic tendencies of the Victorian era is also evident in the dress of the period. In earlier centuries it was usually possible to tell a person's social position from the dress he

wore: in the nineteenth century these distinctions tended to pass away, and were retained only where uniforms were worn. At the same time colour disappeared from the dress of men and boys at any rate, and was replaced by the use of very sober colours and simpler shapes. Trousers became the common



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER.

Built in the Gothic style by Sir Charles Barry in 1840-50. The older Houses had been destroyed by fire, 1834.

wear, knee-breeches disappeared except for sport and other special purposes. The stove-pipe hat was the fashion in the first half of the century; its successor, the top hat, is still worn. There were many distinctive changes, too, in neck wear; but, on the whole, men's fashions change more slowly than women's do, and in this century women's dress seemed to move from extreme to extreme. In its early years there was much

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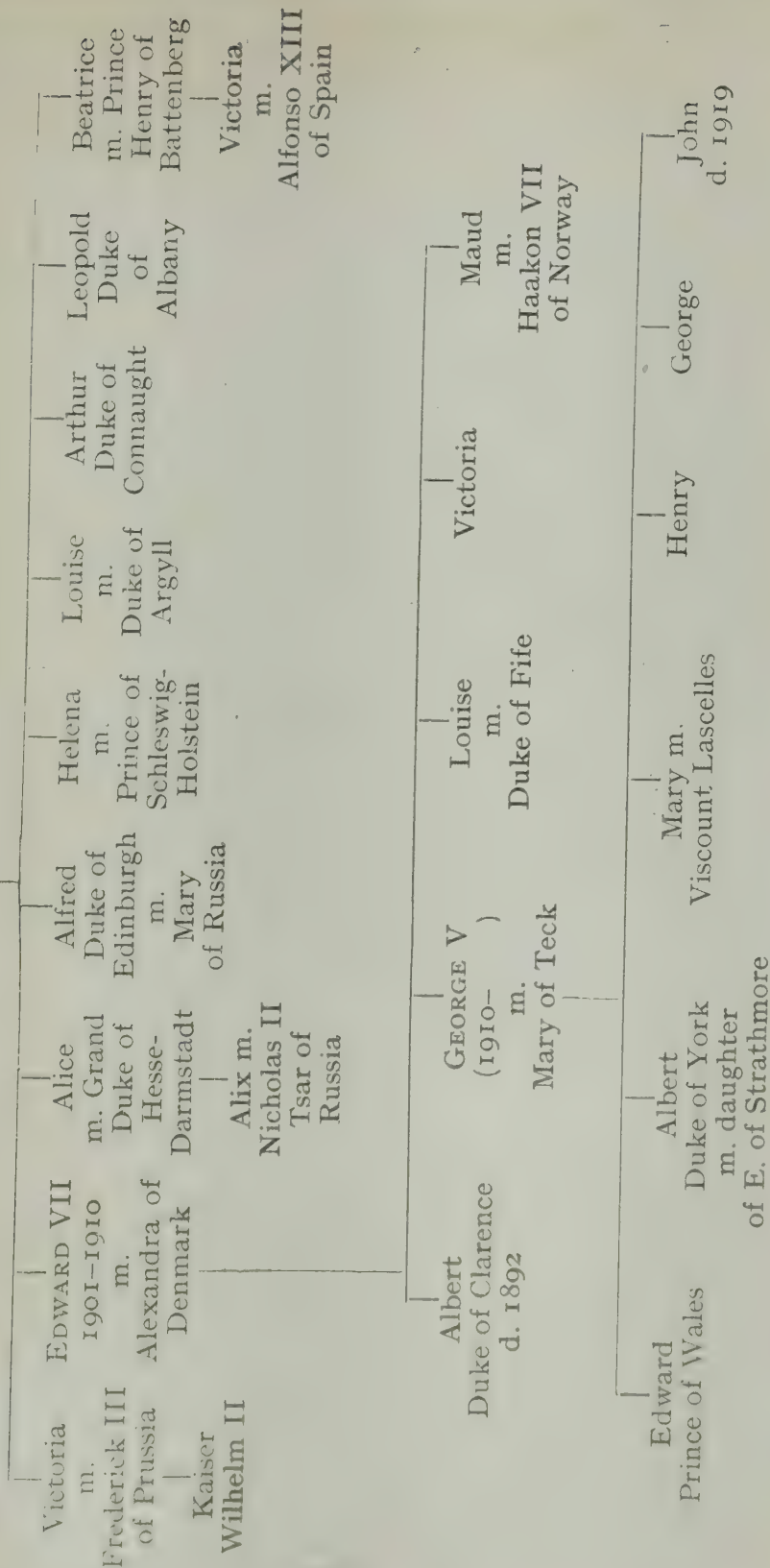
tight lacing ; in the fifties the crinoline was the correct vogue ; the close of the century saw hobble skirts. Hats and bonnets, too, changed from large to small and back again ; and at different times there were coal-scuttle bonnets, and Dolly Varden hats, and so on. In recent years women's dress has benefited considerably by her interest in athletics.

Athletics, too, are certainly a mark of the age. Very many people now share in various kinds of games and amusements, and this has been made possible by the lessening of the hours of employment, and by weekly and annual holidays, which are fortunately becoming both possible and popular. Townspeople as well as the country folk now find time for many kinds of outdoor amusement, and engage in these amusements heartily, and with much advantage to themselves. We might almost say, too, that one feature of the era has been the rediscovery of the joys of the country, for first the bicycle and later the motor-car have made the country more accessible than ever to the dwellers of the town. For the feature of the century has certainly been the change of the English people into a nation of town dwellers, and this has not taken place without changes in physique and outlook. Now something is being done, by means of garden cities and improved methods of transport, to take some of the people back to the country once more.

In these and in many other ways there have been great changes during this remarkable Victorian Era. Whether they have always been changes for the better may be doubtful : but the changes have come, and it is for the nation to make the best of them by lessening

THE DESCENDANTS OF QUEEN VICTORIA¹

VICTORIA = Albert of Saxe-Coburg
1837-1901



¹ Continued from page 366.

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the evils associated with them and increasing the good.

(*For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XXII.*)

EXERCISES

1. Find out all you can about the work of *one* great poet, novelist, artist, or scientist of the Victorian era.
2. Find out all you can about one great invention of the Victorian era. Find out especially about the effects of the invention upon the life of the people.
3. What evidences are there in your own district of educational developments during the nineteenth century? Make a list of the different kinds of schools in this district.
4. Make sketches of the different kinds of dress in the Victorian era (use the pictures in this book, and copies of *Punch*, *The Illustrated London News*, *Graphic*, etc.)
5. Find out from the table on page 505, with what European reigning families the descendants of Queen Victoria were associated by marriage.

CHAPTER XXI

The Rule of the Middle Classes

(i) Widening the Franchise

THE alterations in the methods of parliamentary election established by the Reform Act of 1832 were soon followed by demands for further extensions of the franchise. Some of the Whigs who supported the Bill may have thought that it would satisfy the popular demand for some time to come ; but, if so, they were deceived, for soon after Queen Victoria came to the throne there were demands by the Radicals for further reforms. The demands were stated in a People's Charter, 1838, which asked for six things : universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of the property qualification for a seat in Parliament, and equal electoral districts. The people who supported the Charter became known as Chartists, and in 1839 there were Chartist riots in Newport and Birmingham. As the years went on the Chartists became divided into two sections, one of them prepared to gain their ends by physical force, the other preferring to use peaceful persuasion as the best way to obtain the reforms they asked for. Some of the leaders of the movement were Feargus O'Connor, an Irish journalist, Ernest

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Jones, a lawyer, and William Lovett, a working man. For a time the movement was suspended, because men's minds were occupied with the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, but Chartism revived in 1848, owing to the great revolutions that were taking place in many European countries. A monster petition in favour of the reforms was prepared, and Chartists were asked to meet on Kennington Common to take this petition to Parliament. The ministers were alarmed; they declared the public presentation of the petition illegal, and enrolled over 170,000 special constables to keep the peace. The meeting was a failure; the petition was shown to be full of forged signatures; the Chartists quarrelled among themselves, and the movement came to an end. It had shown, however, that there was much discontent in the country, due mainly to social and economic causes, that would have to be grappled with, or revolution might follow.

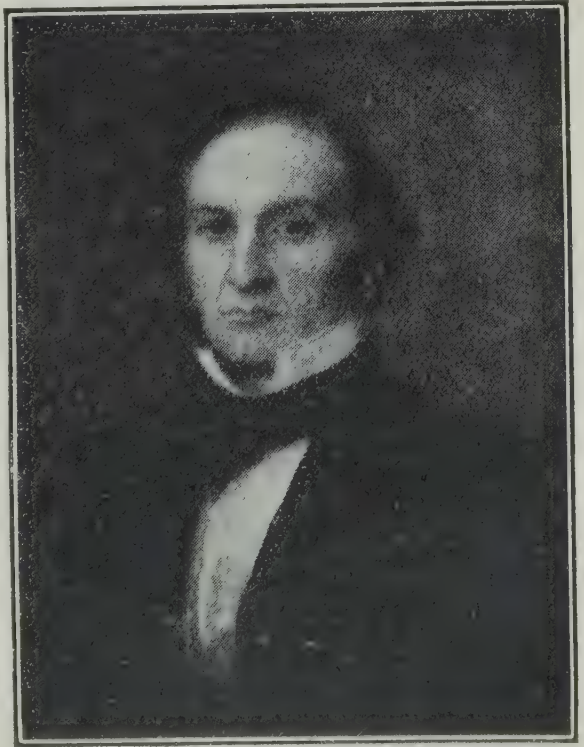
But the ministers of the period were now becoming old, and, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, were showing little skill in their treatment of affairs either at home or abroad. Palmerston practically controlled the Government after the Crimean War, 1855, until his death in 1865; but other great leaders were now rising into prominence as statesmen, including the Liberal, Gladstone, and the Conservative, Disraeli.

Gladstone started public life as the Tory member of a pocket borough, after a splendid career at Eton and Oxford. He became a member of one of Sir Robert Peel's ministries, and followed that leader on the question of Free Trade. Like other Peelites he

finally became a Liberal, and it was as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the ministries of Aberdeen and Palmerston that he became famous. Disraeli was a Jew, and was, therefore, not educated at public school and university, for in his day these were open only to members of the Church of England. In his youth he was famous as a dandy; he was also a very clever novelist. He tried first of all to enter Parliament as a Liberal, but in vain, and when he did get returned as a Conservative, his early speeches were failures; but finally he succeeded, and was a famous statesman.

These two men became great antagonists in matters political during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Both were great orators, capable of arousing unbounded enthusiasm in the minds of their supporters, both in Parliament and in the country. Both, indeed, were almost worshipped by their followers, and the great political controversies of the time all revolve around their names. Gladstone became a great democrat,

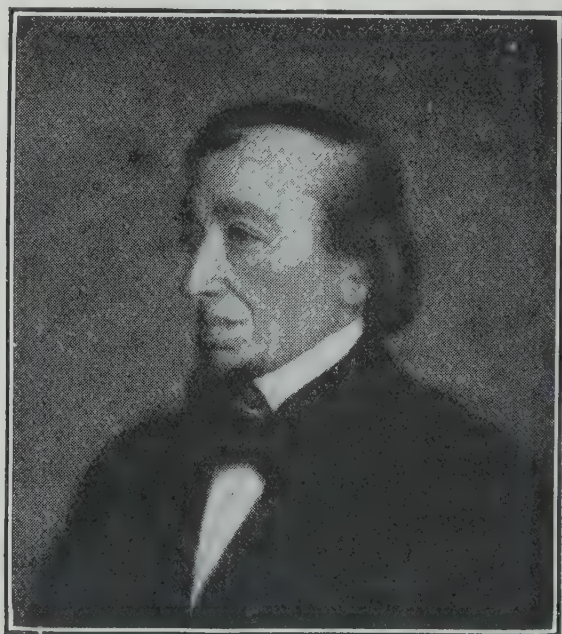


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WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

From a painting by Watts.

the hater of all kinds of oppression at home and abroad, and full of trust in the people; Disraeli was a great Imperialist, and attracted many people by a kind of oriental mysticism which he cultivated. Both were great leaders, but of the two Gladstone spent a much greater time in office, and Disraeli was, therefore,



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BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF
BEACONSFIELD.

After a portrait by Millais.

called upon to exercise his talents more in opposition.

On Palmerston's death, Earl Russell became Prime Minister, with Gladstone as a great force in the Cabinet, and under Gladstone's inspiration an extension of the franchise was decided upon. The workers in the skilled trades were now united in powerful trade unions and were de-

manding the vote, because they looked to parliamentary representation as the best means of bettering their conditions of labour, and Gladstone thought it advisable to grant their request. But some of the Whigs were opposed to this, and the Government was defeated and resigned. It was succeeded by a Conservative Ministry under Derby and Disraeli, whose members proceeded "to dish the Whigs" by

bringing in a Reform Bill themselves, 1867. Great Reform demonstrations and a riot in Hyde Park had shown that reform was inevitable.

This new Act gave a vote to all householders in the towns who paid poor relief, and to all lodgers who paid a rental of £10; in the counties a rent of £12 gave the right to vote. Seats were redistributed in the interests of the towns that had increased in population since 1832; and an effort was made to afford minorities a representation by giving certain towns three members, but only allowing any voter to vote for two of the candidates.

Democracy was now an established fact in the towns, and none of the evil consequences that had been predicted followed. Hence, in 1884, the Gladstone Ministry placed the country people on an equality with their fellows in the towns by giving them the same voting rights as the town voters had received in 1867. At the same time a Redistribution Bill, 1885, once more rearranged the constituencies to allow for changes in population. The Act of 1884 was further extended in 1918 by a grant of what is practically a vote for every man over twenty-one and every woman over thirty. Elections have also been made purer and fairer, and the scenes of violence and corruption so common a century ago have disappeared. Voting by secret ballot was introduced in 1872, and various Acts of Parliament have at different times strengthened the laws against bribery, intimidation, and other corrupt practices.

(ii) *Social Reform*

A number of social reforms have also improved the conditions of life of many of the town workers, both in their homes and in the factories, workshops, and mines. Something has already been said of the terrible conditions of factory life at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and of the first attempts to improve it in 1802. These improvements were due to the efforts of noble-minded philanthropists working on behalf of their fellow men and women; as the century wore on, the workers themselves united together in trade unions to obtain better wages and better conditions of work for themselves. At first, however, there were Acts of Parliament which made these unions illegal, and these were made stronger still when the country was at war with Napoleon. But in 1825 these Acts were repealed, and some rights of union were granted to the workers, and these have been extended by various Acts of Parliament since, until at the present time trade unions are a recognised part of the English industrial system, and the strike and lock-out are common features of industrial disputes.

The first Factory Act, 1802, was due to the efforts of the grandfather of Sir Robert Peel, and to a Scottish factory owner named Robert Owen. It said that the pauper apprentices were not to work more than twelve hours a day, that some time was to be spent upon their education, and that their workshops and sleeping-rooms were to be improved. Unfortunately the employers did not always carry out these regula-

tions, and a Special Parliamentary Committee, 1818, revealed a terrible state of things. Hence came a new Act in the next year, which said that no child under nine years of age was to be allowed to work in a cotton-mill, and that nobody under sixteen was to work more than twelve hours a day.

Little progress was made, however, until the Factory Act of 1831. This was due to the splendid work of a group of men, amongst whom were Richard Oastler, Michael Sadler, and John Hobhouse. Through them, and with the help in the House of Commons of Lord Shaftesbury, a Factory Act in 1833 reduced the hours of work of children under thirteen to forty-eight per week, and insisted on their going to school also, while children between thirteen and eighteen were only to work sixty-eight hours a week. Night work for children was forbidden, and inspectors were appointed to see that the Act was carried out. Succeeding Acts in 1844, 1847, and 1850 made still further reductions in hours of labour, and insisted also on the fencing of machinery to prevent accidents. A ten-hour day for women and children was fixed as a maximum; there was to be no night work, and work was to cease on Saturdays at 2 p.m. All these regulations belonged at first to the textile factories, but they were soon made to cover work of all kinds, for very often the worst conditions of labour were to be found in other branches of industry. Thus the work of women and girls in coal and other mines was forbidden, and no boy was to enter a mine before the age of fourteen.

The gloomy forebodings of those who foretold disaster to British industry as a result of these improve-

ments all proved false, and in the second half of the century there was almost continuous legislation for the protection of the worker. A series of Workmen's Compensation Acts made some provision for persons injured while they were engaged in their daily work, or for their dependents if they were killed. An Old Age Pension Act, 1908, also made provision for them when too old to work; Labour Exchanges, established in 1909, were introduced to help the unemployed to find work, and two years later great schemes of Insurance against Unemployment and Sickness were established for the benefit of workers in many trades. These insurance schemes have now been much extended and developed. The hours of the miners were shortened in 1908 by an Eight Hours Bill, and, some time later, were reduced to seven; in the next year Trade Boards were established to improve the conditions of work in certain occupations where the worker's lot was particularly bad.

Efforts were also made to improve the health of the working class population by improved housing and by sanitation. Little or nothing was done before 1850 to provide for proper sanitation in the towns which grew so rapidly as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution. The ground became more and more polluted as time went on; the water supply, which was from surface wells in many places, was contaminated; there were constant epidemics of typhus fever and smallpox. Finally, in 1847, came a great cholera epidemic, which forced the Government to take action. Boards of Health were established, and soon better systems of town drainage by means of efficient sewers

were in use. Care was also taken to provide a supply of water from a pure source, sufficient for all the needs of a town ; and Acts of Parliament permitted local authorities to build public baths and wash-houses for the use of the people. Many slum areas were swept away, and enlightened manufacturers began the building of garden cities for their workers. Improved trams and trains, 'buses and tubes also did a great deal by moving many of the workers farther from their factories and workshops to homes nearer the country fields. Improvements in education, the provision of museums and picture galleries, the opening of parks and open spaces for music and recreation ; these and other methods helped also to improve the conditions of life of many of the British people.

But in spite of all these improvements the problem of poverty still remained a very serious one ; and the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was very much criticised by many opponents of the measure. The workhouses were nicknamed " Bastilles," and there were many complaints of the harsh way in which the authorities applied the Act. The worst fault in the system was that it seemed to look upon poverty as being in all cases the fault of the poor persons who were seeking help ; and the treatment of the workhouse inmates was sometimes very harsh. As time went on the administration of the Act was made less severe, and many inquiries were made by different authorities and persons as to the best methods of dealing with this difficult question. Up to the present, however, little has been done directly, though

Old Age Pensions and National Insurance against sickness and unemployment have done something to help those who are in need of help, but are not connected with the Poor Law system. It may be that some further extensions along these lines will abolish the Poor Law system altogether.

The nineteenth century witnessed many attempts on a small scale to establish industry on a co-operative basis, by a combination of workers without any employer as such, but none of them proved very successful. On the other hand, an attempt to co-operate in the buying and selling of goods has succeeded well. In 1844 a number of Rochdale workers decided to buy goods for sale among themselves at ordinary shop prices, and then divide the profits at fixed intervals among the purchasers of the goods. Their little society has expanded into the great Co-operative Societies of to-day.

(iii) *Foreign Policy*

The years following 1815 were years of quiet in foreign affairs, so far as Britain was concerned. The European nations were tired of war, and were prepared to endure almost any form of government, if only it would give them peace. The rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia united together in a Holy Alliance to preserve the peace of Europe. They were prepared, not only to keep the peace between the nations, but also to prevent any revolt of subject peoples against those in authority over them. Hence anything in the nature of a rebellion was quickly suppressed,

even though it might be the attempt of a people like the Italians to throw off the yoke of the foreign power, Austria, which controlled them.

But the seeds sown by Napoleon and his soldiers in their marches across the Continent were sure to bring forth fruit as time went on. They had put certain ideals and certain ideas into the minds of the people of Europe, and these could never be completely destroyed. Subject States were sure sooner or later to demand freedom and self-government; for the Napoleonic movement had strengthened the idea of nationality in Europe, as well as the idea of democratic self-government. But for the moment there was peace.

Britain's share in the downfall of Napoleon had made her respected and admired by the European nations, and her Industrial Revolution had given her trade and riches, for she had been able to continue her trade while the Continent was being overrun by soldiers. She had also obtained a great colonial Empire as a result of the war. Her people, however, were opposed to the ideas of the Eastern monarchs and their Holy Alliance, and her foreign ministers were forced to refrain from supporting them. Hence, Castlereagh, who died in 1822, and his clever successor, Canning (1822-1827), kept Britain as much as possible from intervention in continental affairs; though Canning recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies in the New World when they revolted from Spain, and helped the Greeks in their struggle for independence - a struggle in which Byron gave up his life. During this contest the Turkish and Egyptian

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fleets were destroyed at Navarino by the combined fleets of Britain, Russia and France.

But the greatest British Foreign Minister of the first half of the century was Lord Palmerston. He was Foreign Secretary or Prime Minister for more than twenty-five of the years between 1830 and 1865, and



National Portrait Gallery.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

From a water-colour copy by Lady Abercrombie,
after H. von Angeli.

the British people were very fond of his bluff and inconsistent methods. It was a time when British influence was very great on the Continent, and "Pam," as he was called, went on his careless, reckless way, without worrying overmuch whom he offended, and not without giving much offence to very many people. Indeed, on more than one occasion the queen

herself was forced to take him to task for leaving her in the dark as to the policy he was pursuing, and in 1851 he was compelled to resign his post because he had officially recognised Napoleon III as Emperor of the French without the knowledge of his Prime Minister, Russell. Palmerston was a Whig, with a patriotic sense of the importance of his own country, and a sympathy with

oppressed nations seeking their freedom. He interfered on behalf of Belgium when she strove to free herself from Holland in 1830, and was one of the signatories of the famous "scrap of paper" that guaranteed her independence. Like almost all the British ministers of his time, Palmerston was also in favour of maintaining the Turkish Empire, which seemed to be crumbling to pieces; and when the ruler of Egypt attacked the Sultan, Palmerston helped Turkey, although France was supporting Egypt.

From 1841 to 1846 he was out of office, and his successor, Lord Aberdeen, cultivated a more peaceful tone, and made friends with France. But when Palmerston came back to office a new difficulty with France arose over the question of the marriage of the Queen of Spain; though this matter became unimportant when the great revolutions broke out in Europe in 1848. In France the revolution ended with Napoleon III as Emperor of the French, 1851, and Britain and France soon became friendly, for Napoleon was anxious to be recognised by the other European sovereigns. He was also anxious to show the French, by a spirited interference in European affairs, that he was a worthy successor of the great Napoleon. An opportunity came through a quarrel between Russia and Turkey. The Tsar of Russia looked upon the Turkish Empire as a "sick man" who was about to die, and wished the other Powers to share the Turkish territories with him. But British policy was all in favour of keeping Turkey alive as an independent State. Just at this time a quarrel arose among the monks of the Eastern

and Western Churches in Palestine. France and Russia took up the quarrel on behalf of their respective Churches, and the matter came to a war in which France, Britain, and Turkey opposed Russia. The Allies decided to invade the Crimea and take possession of Sebastopol, the Russian naval headquarters on the Black Sea. They won the battle of the Alma, but failed to follow up their advantage, and Sebastopol was fortified in the meantime. It was therefore necessary to lay siege to it, and the siege lasted through the winter, with terrible results to the troops, who were unprepared in every way for a winter campaign. Before the winter was over more than half the British forces were in hospital, and the hospital system broke down. Earlier in the winter had occurred the battle of Balaclava with its brilliant, but useless, charge of the Light Brigade, and the soldiers' battle of Inkerman, in which the British soldiers successfully withstood an unexpected attack of almost overwhelming Russian forces.

This was the first war in which newspaper correspondents shared, and soon the people at home were hearing how the troops were suffering. There was a great outcry for the return of Palmerston to power, and the ministers were compelled to give place to him. Everything possible was done for the soldiers, and Florence Nightingale and a number of ladies went out as nurses, and did splendid service for the suffering troops. At length, in September 1855, the forts protecting Sebastopol were captured, and peace was signed in the following March, though Palmerston would have liked to continue the war until Russia

was more severely beaten. The peace guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire.

After 1860 there was little sure peace in Europe for many years; and though England did not share in the wars that took place, she had her own troubles in India and the colonies. On the Continent the famous Prussian statesman Bismarck secured the unity of Germany by victories over Austria in 1866, and over France in 1870-71; while Cavour and Garibaldi succeeded in uniting the Italians into a nation. British statesmen did not show up very well while these events were taking place; their policy was one of neutrality. In 1864 the Danes were misled into thinking that they would have British support in a war with Prussia, in which they were easily defeated. During the Civil War in America (1861-1865) the *Alabama* case nearly caused war with the Northern States; but this was avoided by Gladstone's willingness to submit the dispute to arbitration.

The greatest danger to European peace was in the Balkan area, where the Christian subjects of the Turks were meditating revolt, and hoping that Russia would help them. In 1876 the Bulgarians rose in rebellion, and their revolt was put down by the Turkish soldiers with such terrible atrocities that Mr. Gladstone, who had gone into retirement on his defeat at the polls in 1874, came back into public life with ringing denunciations of the "unspeakable Turk." Disraeli, his successor as Prime Minister, favoured the maintenance of the Turkish Empire. The Russians came to the help of the revolting States, which now included Servia and Montenegro, and captured Adrianople, 1877.

They then dictated terms to the Turks, to which the other European Powers could not assent. Disraeli threatened to intervene on Turkey's behalf, and the matter was settled by a Congress at Berlin, 1878, under Bismarck's presidency, which gave independence to some of the Balkan States, and the promise of better administration to Bulgaria. Britain had once more kept the Turkish Empire alive in Europe, and Disraeli, returning from the Congress, claimed that he had brought back "peace with honour."

But Britain soon found that her difficulties elsewhere in the world would no longer let her act as the supporter of Turkey, and this post was ultimately taken by Germany. One place where trouble came was Cape Colony, where the British settlers and the British Government found it difficult to agree with the older Dutch settlers, or Boers as they were called. The Boers were opposed to the abolition of slavery and to the Government's interference with their ways of dealing with the natives. In 1836 many of them left the Colony, some going into Natal, the others northward across the Orange River. Natal was made a colony in 1843, the new State across the Orange River was annexed in 1848. Many Boers moved still further north across the Vaal River, and again formed an independent State, and the Orange River State was declared a free state also. There was constant friction, however, between Boer and Briton; and the question of the native population was a frequent cause of dispute. In 1871 diamonds were found near Kimberley, and the district around was annexed by the Government, to the disgust of the Boers, who claimed it themselves.

At last, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed to save it from the Zulus, a powerful Kaffir tribe living to the east of it. This led first to a war with the Zulus, who surprised and destroyed a British force at Isandhlwana, but were completely defeated at Ulundi; and next to a war against the Boers, whose fighting capacity the British general completely underestimated. He was repulsed in his attack at Laing's Nek, and beaten in a small battle at Majuba Hill. Gladstone had come into power in 1880; his Ministry had already decided to give back its independence to the Transvaal, and they continued in that course. Unfortunately the Boers took this to mean that they had beaten the British and so won their independence.

There were difficulties, too, in other parts of Africa. In 1875 Disraeli had purchased a large holding in the shares of the Suez Canal, which had been built in 1869; and this, and our Indian trade, had made Egypt of great importance to us. The French, too, were concerned in the Canal, which a Frenchman had built, and in which many Frenchmen held shares, and, as the Egyptian ruler was practically bankrupt, Britain and France began jointly to administer Egyptian affairs to safeguard the interests of the bondholders of the Egyptian debt, who were largely English and French. In 1881 there was a rising of the Egyptians under Arabi Pasha, and the murder of some Europeans in Alexandria. France withdrew from Egypt, but British soldiers crushed the revolt. Fresh trouble followed in the Sudan, where a religious fanatic, called the Mahdi, had raised a rebellion of the native tribes. The Government decided to aban-

don the Sudan, and sent General Gordon to bring away the garrison from Khartum. Gordon stayed to try to establish a native government, and was cut off in that town by the Mahdi's forces. The Government did not realise his danger till it was too late to relieve him, and he was killed when the city fell to the Mahdi's followers, 1885. It was not until 1898 that General Kitchener, with a mixed Egyptian and British army, defeated the Mahdi's successor at Omdurman, and recovered the lost province.

While these events were happening, difficulties were arising elsewhere. Germany had now begun to seek colonies in Africa, and was occupying portions of African territory bordering on Cape Colony; and matters were not smoothed down until an agreement was arrived at by a Conference in 1890. But the worst difficulty of all was that grave differences of opinion developed between the Cape Government and the Boers. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal had been followed by the influx of a large number of gold-diggers of various nationalities, who were called Outlanders, and were refused any share in the government, although they were called upon to pay taxes. Trouble especially centred in the town of Johannesburg, the headquarters of the gold-mining industry; and matters were made worse by a foolish raid into the Transvaal by some Rhodesian troopers, under Dr. Jameson, 1895. Affairs now became very strained, and as the Boer President Krüger and Mr. Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, could not come to any agreement, war followed. The Boers were well supplied with arms, and probably counted on the help of

one or more European nations ; but the navy effectually prevented this, even if the nations had intended it.

It was certain that the Boers alone could not withstand the power of the British Empire, though at first they were underrated and the British forces suffered some serious reverses. But Lord Roberts was sent out with larger forces, and General Kitchener was made his chief staff officer ; and soon victories came, and the Boers were beaten. They managed to hold out for two years in guerilla warfare, but were finally subdued ; and a generous peace was made with them. The queen had died in 1901, worn out by the cares of the war. In 1906 self-government was granted to the Boers, and in 1908 a Union of South Africa was formed, composed of all the States. Members of the Union fought bravely and loyally for the Empire during the Great War.

(iv) *Irish Affairs*

The story of Britain's dealings with Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a record of regrettable mistakes and misunderstandings. Promises were made and broken, as they had been in the Treaty of Limerick, 1691, and harsh laws against the Catholics, and measures to prevent the Irish farmers and traders from sharing on equal terms with their neighbours in the English markets, made the majority of the Irish hate the British people. Some measure of freedom was granted them when Britain was struggling with the American colonists ; but the fight with Napoleon became one of Ireland's opportunities. There was a rebellion in 1798 under Wolfe Tone, which

failed, and increased the differences of opinion existing between the people of Ulster and those of the rest of Ireland. Finally, in 1800 came Pitt's Act of Union. The Irish Parliament, which had known the eloquence of Grattan, disappeared, and representatives came to the British Parliament at Westminster. But even this was associated with a broken promise, for Pitt had intended to free the Roman Catholics from some of their grievous restrictions, when George III interposed and refused to allow this to be done.

Almost immediately there was a rising under Robert Emmott to undo the Act of Union, but it failed; and then matters remained quieter until 1823, when a lawyer named Daniel O'Connell founded a Catholic Association to work for the Emancipation of the Catholics from their harassing restrictions. A repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 had restored their civil rights to Protestant dissenters, but Roman Catholics were still excluded from a seat in Parliament, and from holding various offices under the Crown. O'Connell was an orator of great power, and could move large audiences in any way he chose, and under his direction the Catholic Association became so powerful that it was suppressed by the Government, 1825. O'Connell was a loyal supporter of the Crown, and did not believe in rebellion as a method of obtaining redress, and he continued the agitation by constitutional methods. In 1828 there was a parliamentary election for Clare, and O'Connell stood as a candidate. He was triumphantly elected, though, as he was a Catholic, he could not take his seat in the House. The Government had to give way,

and Wellington, now Prime Minister, and Peel secured the passage of a Catholic Emancipation Act, which admitted Catholics to Parliament, and to nearly all the offices of State. After this success the Irish reform movement quietened down for a time, but arose again in 1842. A band of young Irishmen formed an association called *Young Ireland* to work for the repeal of the Union, and in 1844 O'Connell was tried for conspiracy and sedition, after which his influence disappeared. In 1845 and 1846 there was serious famine, which helped to bring about the repeal of the Corn Laws, and in 1848 a rising of the Young Irelanders was easily suppressed.

The famine years made prominent an old grievance of the Irish, the question of land ownership. The Irish had suffered from the exactions of landlords who lived away from their Irish estates, and now a movement was started for a reform of the land system. There was much discontent in the country, and the reply of the Government was to introduce Coercion Acts, which took away the ordinary law and gave greater powers to the constabulary. Secret societies were formed as a result of this, the most famous of them being the Fenian Society, which was especially active in 1866 and 1867. Gladstone introduced some measures of reform, including the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869, and a Land Act, which was intended to help the tenant farmers, in the following year.

Meanwhile, there was a new development in 1870, in a demand for Home Rule ; and this was accompanied by much obstruction by the Irish members of Parliament in their efforts to make the British people con-

sider their cause. Under Mr. Parnell this movement became a very strong one ; funds were freely given by Irish Americans to support it, and it was accompanied by the formation of a Land League, which preached non-payment of rent, and the "boycotting" of all persons who took the farms of evicted persons. Gladstone tried to improve the situation by a second Land Act, 1881, and by reaching an understanding with Parnell ; but all hopes of agreement were ruined by the horrible murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Irish Chief Secretary, by the Irish extremists in Phoenix Park, Dublin, 1882. It was followed by further Coercion Acts and fresh outrages.

The elections of 1885 gave Ireland 85 Home Rulers out of 103 members, and Gladstone introduced a Home Rule Bill in the same year. Many members of the Liberal party opposed the Bill, and it was defeated, while an appeal to the country gave the Conservatives a large majority, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister. The Irish struggle continued, however, and the Government brought in Coercion Acts to restore order, and Land Acts to enable the Irish peasants to become the owners of their farms ; while in 1898 local self-government by means of county and district councils was also introduced. But the demand for Home Rule remained, and when Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time in 1892 he again introduced a Home Rule Bill, which was rejected by the House of Lords. He resigned in 1894, and was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, who remained in office for only a year. The Conservatives then held office until 1905, when the Liberals under Mr. Campbell-

Bannerman gained a great victory and returned to power.

In 1908 ill-health compelled Campbell-Bannerman to resign ; and his successor, Mr. Asquith, succeeded in passing an Act which limited the power of the House of Lords to reject Bills which had been twice passed by the Commons. One of the first Bills to be passed under these new conditions was a Home Rule Bill, 1912 ; but no settlement had been reached when the Great European War broke out.




(v) *The Expanding Empire*

The nineteenth century saw the rapid growth and development of a second British Empire, or Commonwealth of British nations, extending to all parts of the world, and linked together by the great ocean waterways, and it is necessary that we should realise some of the most important facts connected with the development of each portion of this Empire.

Canada had received a large number of Loyalists from the United States at the time of the War of Independence, and many settlers continued to go out from Britain, so that by 1830 there were large numbers of both British and French in the colony. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were British, but in Canada itself the two races were living side by side, and in 1791 the colony was divided into Upper Canada, or Ontario, inhabited by British people, and Lower Canada, or Quebec, where the descendants of the old French settlers predominated. Both these areas were granted certain rights of self-government, and their own



GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

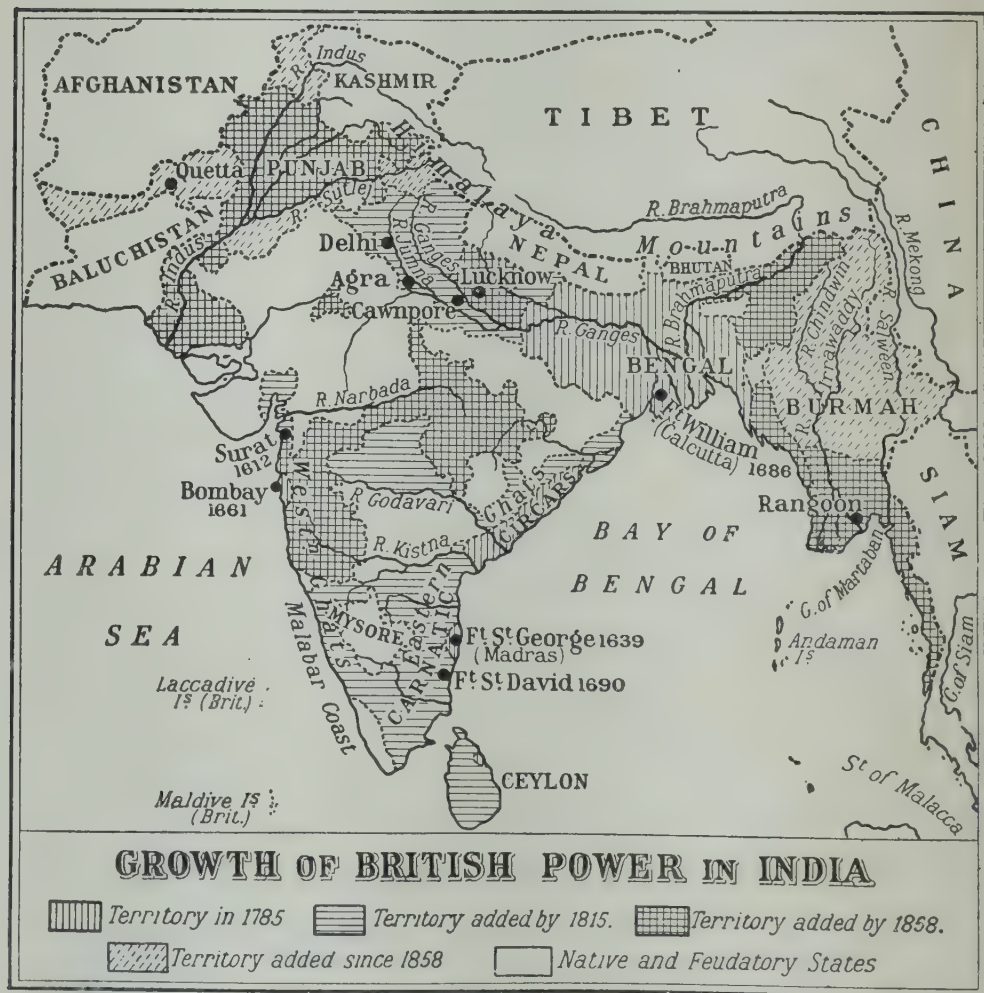
 Territory in 1783.  Territory in 1815.  Present Empire including Mandatory territories.

particular national points of view were safeguarded. The number of British settlers continued to increase, and in 1837 the discontent of both French and British settlers culminated in a rebellion. Lord Durham, a Liberal statesman, was sent out to make an inquiry into the causes of the ill-feeling in the country; and as a result a new Act of Parliament, 1840, united Ontario and Quebec once more, and provided for a full measure of self-government for the Canadians.

After this Canada developed rapidly under a succession of capable Governors; in 1867 Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were united as the Dominion of Canada with a federal Parliament, *i.e.* a Parliament of representatives from each of the federated States; and by 1880 all the other colonies, except Newfoundland, were members of the Dominion. After that the growth of the Dominion was very rapid. The areas to the west and north were explored and developed; the population continued to increase as new lands were opened out in the west; and expansion was aided considerably by a railway, the Canadian Pacific, which was completed in 1886.

The history of India during the nineteenth century is a very full and varied one. The work of Lord Wellesley, at the beginning of the century, did much to extend British power in the peninsula, and it was to the interest of the various Indian peoples that they should have the benefit of British control and British protection. Under succeeding able viceroys this control was extended: the Gurkhas of Nepal became British subjects in 1815; the Mahratta power was broken in 1818; there were extensions of territory

on the Burmese frontier in 1824, and so on. Each additional step eastward and westward led to another still more forward movement for the protection of the frontier; and there were Afghan wars and Burmese



wars in consequence. At the same time there were many valuable reforms within the peninsula; improvements in education and sanitation, and the opening of the Civil Service to the native Indians are some of them.

But all these annexations and innovations were not

carried out without causing much offence to many of the Indian people; and in the year following the Crimean War there was a very serious Mutiny of some of the native (Sepoy) troops. Many causes combined to produce this revolt. Lord Dalhousie had been Viceroy since 1848, and had brought large regions under British rule; the Punjab, Lower Burmah, and Oudh being among them. He had never understood the prejudices of the natives on this and other matters, and had, therefore, unwittingly caused much discontent. Many of the Indians also objected to the railways, telegraphs, and other forms of western civilisation that were being introduced.

There was thus much unrest in the land when the rumour spread that the cartridges used in the new Enfield rifle were greased with the fat of the cow, an animal sacred to the Hindus, and of the pig, an animal which the Mohammedan soldiers would be defiled by touching. The Mutiny started at Meerut, and spread through the towns of the Ganges plain. Over two hundred women and children were massacred at Cawnpore, after the garrison had surrendered on a promise of safe conduct being granted to them. At Lucknow the garrison endured a terrible siege, during which they were reinforced by General Havelock after a remarkable march. Elsewhere, too, British officers and men performed marvellous feats of endurance and heroism. To call the rising an Indian Mutiny is wrong, for it was only one part of India that was affected; and the rebels were subdued largely by the help of native troops, among whom were the Sikhs of the Punjab, the famous Guides, and the

brave and loyal Gurkhas. After the Mutiny was subdued Parliament transferred India from the Company to the Crown and the work of the famous East India Company came to an end. In 1877 the queen was proclaimed Empress of India.

The first settlements in Australia also made con-



THE DAYS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

Troops hastening to the rescue.

siderable progress in the early years of the nineteenth century, and more and more of the continent was explored and opened out, the greatest obstacle to continued progress being drought, a most difficult problem to overcome. As time went on the different regions separated out as distinct colonies, and the transportation of convicts came to an end in 1853. Sheep were introduced from England, and became a

very important source of wealth ; minerals, too, were found in many areas ; and when, in 1849, great discoveries of gold were made in the colonies, there was a great rush of immigrants, many of whom remained to become agricultural settlers.

Some rights of self-government had already been granted, and now that the gold rush had made settled government a matter of urgent importance, the four colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania were given Constitutions, which they were permitted to frame for themselves. From 1854 the story of the colonies is one of continuous prosperity, though it was not until 1900 that they joined together as a Commonwealth. This Commonwealth of Australia is the most purely British of all the British dominions, and practically its whole story is the story of the work of a portion of the British people settled in a new land. New Zealand, the other great colony of the Southern Seas, has also progressed rapidly since its occupation in 1817, though it was not formally annexed until 1839. The settlement was not carried out without severe wars with the native Maoris, a brave and determined race, who have now become loyal British subjects. The Dominion of New Zealand was established in 1907 ; it controls not only the islands of the New Zealand group, but also the British possessions scattered over the South Pacific Ocean.

The development of South Africa has been described elsewhere, and also the troubles arising from Britain's association with Egypt. There were also older African colonies, which continued to grow ; though in some

parts of Africa there were serious troubles leading to wars and other difficulties, as has already been shown. Many of the African territories were opened out by new companies during the nineteenth century; they include Rhodesia, which owed much to the efforts of Cecil Rhodes; the region of the lower Niger river; and British East Africa, which owes its development to the work of the British East Africa Company. In the same region are British Somaliland and the Uganda Protectorate. All these are now under the direct control of the Crown, while German East and South-west Africa are mandatory territories handed over to Britain by the League of Nations, as a result of the Treaty of Versailles.

But it is unnecessary here to enumerate all the various portions of the Empire. Enough has been said of this second British Empire to emphasise its importance in the world to-day. This importance is likely to be greater still in the future. Its lands are still in many cases thinly peopled, and offer homes to large numbers of people; its peoples are taking every year a greater and an increasingly important place in the great Empire to which they belong. Splendid services were rendered by soldiers from all parts of the Empire during the Great War; and the larger colonies had representation as separate nations at the Peace Conference at Versailles. The colonies are no longer subordinate to the mother-country, but are now separate States under the same king, bound together by ties of kindred or friendship, speaking in many cases the same language, and forming a great Commonwealth of Nations which stretches over

the ocean pathways to the farthest corners of the world.

Nor must we forget that this great Commonwealth of Nations has developed mainly by the arts of peace. It has been the explorer, the pioneer, and the settler who have founded and developed the nations now linked together. All readers will know of the great work of David Livingstone in darkest Africa from 1853 to his death there in 1873; the map of the north and west of Canada is covered with the names of great explorers, Davis, Hudson, Mackenzie, Franklin, and many more; in Australia, Sturt, Burke, and Wills made perilous journeys into the interior. It has been by the work of men like these, and by the efforts of the colonists who have followed them, that the Empire has been developed.

(For Table of Important Events see end of Chapter XXII.)

EXERCISES

1. The history in this chapter is near our own times, and many living persons remember the people of whom we are reading. Try to gather some information from these persons on one or more of the subjects dealt with in this chapter.
2. Find out as much as you can about the life of a colonist in a newly developing colony.
3. Make a list of poems and tales dealing with (a) the Crimean War; (b) the Indian Mutiny.
4. Write an account as if by a soldier or a nurse of some of the scenes in the Crimean War, or in the Indian Mutiny.
5. Make a set of maps showing the extent of the British

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Empire at different times. (Use the map on p. 350 as a basis).

6. Make a set of maps showing the growth of British power in India. (Use the map on page 532.)

7. Find out the present system of government of Ireland, and of one or more of our self-governing colonies (e.g. Dominion of Canada, Commonwealth of Australia), and compare these systems.

CHAPTER XXII

The Twentieth Century

(i) *Home Affairs*

THE closing years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth were difficult ones for British governments, both in home affairs and in foreign policy. The difficulties at home included social and economic problems in Britain, and trouble in Ireland; there was also much unrest in India, where the natives were asking for a greater share in the government of their provinces and of the Indian Empire. In the viceroyalty of Lord Minto (1903-1909) additional representation in both these directions was granted, and still further rights of native representation and a greater share in the election of representatives were added in 1920, with promises that, in the near future, India would become a self-governing community.

After the defeat of the Home Rule Bill for Ireland in 1893, the Liberal party laid aside their task in this connection for a time, and devoted themselves to other matters of importance. From 1895 to 1905 the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were in power, first under Lord Salisbury, and after 1902 under Mr. Balfour. Mr. Chamberlain was the Colonial Secretary

in these governments until 1903; and it was in his period of office that the Boer War took place. In 1903 he brought forward a proposal for the introduction of Tariff Reform in place of Free Trade, arguing that such a measure was necessary to bind the colonies more closely to the mother-country. His proposal caused a break in the Unionist party, and in 1906 a Liberal Government was returned to power. This Government made important changes, especially in matters of taxation, and found their proposals defeated by the House of Lords, which threw out the Budget of 1909. Mr. Asquith, who was now Prime Minister, at once appealed to the country, but only gained a majority of two over the Conservatives, though Irish and Labour members raised that majority to 120, and both these sections were in favour of lessening the power of the House of Lords. An attempt was therefore made to arrive at some measure which would take away from the Lords the possibility of defeating the wishes of the Commons; and after a second election, 1910, which gave about the same result as the preceding one, a Parliament Act took away from the House of Lords the right of rejecting any Money Bill, and declared that any other Bill which passed the Commons in three successive sessions, covering a period of two years, should become law without the consent of the Upper House.

One important feature of the elections of 1905 was the return to Parliament of fifty members of a new Labour party, which thus became one of the political parties of the State. The Trade Unions had made themselves very strong in the last years of the nine-

teenth century, and the early years of the new century saw many successful strikes and other Labour movements. It was estimated that after the Great War Trade Union membership was well over 4,500,000, and Union funds were correspondingly large. In 1900 the Trade Union movement received a set-back as the result of an action brought by the Taff Vale Railway Company against a Trade Union for damages caused by the workers' union in striking and preventing the Company from getting new workers by the pickets they placed outside the station. The verdict of the judges was that the Union was liable for the damages, and so their funds were imperilled. Nine years later the courts decided that it was illegal for the Unions to use their funds for political purposes, such as election expenses and the payment of members of Parliament. An Act of Parliament, 1911, relieved the situation in one direction, by granting salaries to all members of Parliament, and in 1913 an Act was also passed allowing the Unions to use their funds for any lawful purpose. The Labour movement has grown rapidly since the war, and now, in 1924, their party is in office, and their leader, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, is Prime Minister.

Ireland had been granted two more important Land Acts, 1903 and 1909, and the country was in a much more prosperous condition, but the demand for Home Rule remained; and when the important alteration in the British Constitution made Home Rule possible, a Home Rule Bill passed the Commons in 1912. The Bill granted self-government to the Irish very much upon the model of the governments of the

Colonies, and was accepted by the Irish Nationalist party as a satisfactory measure. But it included Ulster also with the other provinces in a single Parliament, and the majority of the people of Ulster were at once aroused to strong opposition to the measure. They declared that they would fight rather than submit, and their protests were backed by some of the responsible members of the Unionist party. In 1914 it seemed possible that there would be rebellion in Ulster, when suddenly the Great European War commenced. Ireland raised many troops for the war, but the attempt to bring the Irish under conscription led to rebellion, and to the formation of a strong party, known as Sinn Fein, which sought complete separation from Britain. There followed a period of terrible bloodshed and wasteful destruction until, in 1922, the Sinn Feiners accepted a Treaty which gave them independent government on Dominion lines, with Ulster as a separate Dominion. It is hoped that in this way a solution of this difficult Irish problem has been found.

(ii) *The Struggle of the Powers*

The outbreak of war suspended at once the differences of opinion at home, in view of the very grave crisis that now faced the nation. The great Bismarck, who had done so much to make Germany a great and united Empire, had lost his position as Chancellor in 1890, through a difference of opinion with his new ruler, William II. This new monarch had ascended the throne two years previously; his accession was

soon followed by signs of dangers to come, for he proved to be of an imperious temper, full of vanity and self-esteem ; eager to play a great part in the affairs



of the world, and rash in his methods of action. Germany had risen to greatness under Bismarck, and was now a very powerful nation ; many people began to wonder what she would do next, when they read the speeches of the new Kaiser, or watched some

of his actions ; especially, so far as Britain was concerned, during the progress of the Boer War.

For there were only too many possibilities of trouble in almost all parts of the world. Japan had beaten China in 1894, but the European Powers had then stepped in, and had deprived her of the fruits of her victory. China, too, seemed on the point of breaking up into a series of states ; and the Powers were concerned in the questions of Chinese commerce and Chinese territory. Nearer home was the unrest in the Balkan area, where the subjects of the Sultan were anxious to throw off the Turkish yoke, and looked to Russia for help.

But Russia at this time was in no position to help others, for her own people were filled with discontent, and answered the repressive measures of their Tsar and his advisers with bombs and other methods of assassination. It had been part of Bismarck's policy to keep on friendly terms with Russia, but under the Kaiser this understanding came to an end, and soon a friendship grew between Russia and France ; for France had never forgotten or forgiven her defeat in 1871. France lent the Russian Government the money it needed for commercial expansion ; and by 1896 the two countries had formed a Dual Alliance. Germany, Austria, and Italy had already united in a Triple Alliance for common defence. Britain, especially after the Boer War, was left for a time in isolation ; her action in Egypt had put an end to her friendship with Turkey, and her place as the supporter of the Turkish Empire was taken by Germany. The result was seen in 1897, when a war between Turkey and Greece ended in the

total defeat of the latter by a Turkish army trained and directed by German officers.

In 1898 the Germans seized and leased an important area in China, and this was followed by leases to other Powers. Russia at the same time annexed Manchuria, and, as matters now looked very threatening in the Far East, Britain and Japan entered into an alliance, 1902, to prevent further changes in those regions. Two years later Russia engaged in a war with Japan in which she was badly beaten by land and by sea ; her defeat was followed by a revolt at home, 1905, and the grant to the Russian people of a constitutional form of government.

Russia's dangerous position left France in isolation, and this helped to make it possible for France and Britain to settle their differences and adjust their boundaries in Africa and elsewhere, and come to an understanding, or *entente*. The understanding was aided by the fact that Edward VII, who had succeeded his mother in 1901, had a great liking for France, and was very popular in that country. An agreement was arrived at, and soon the *entente* became an *entente cordiale* ; especially as the Kaiser was showing a disposition to interfere in Morocco and other parts of the world.

Again and again there were grave dangers of a European war, and in 1899 the Tsar, Nicholas II, suggested a meeting of the Powers at the Hague, to see if something could not be done to limit armaments, and generally to lessen the danger of war. The cost of armaments was a very heavy one ; Europe was becoming an armed camp, and there was every prospect that

war would soon come, unless something could be done to prevent it. But neither this conference nor a second one in 1907 at the same place could do much to replace war by arbitration or some other peaceful method of settling international disputes.

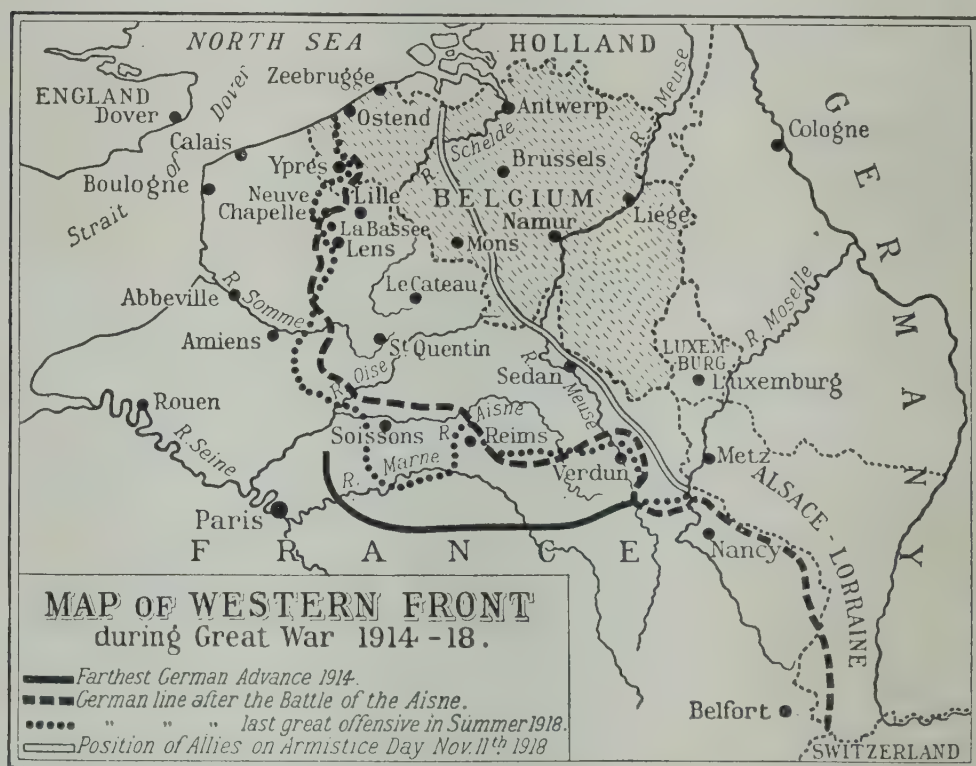
However, in 1907, Britain and Russia managed to settle all their differences in Persia, Afghanistan, China and elsewhere, and the entente with France now became an entente with Russia also. The war clouds were gathering, and in 1908 came a revolution in Turkey, which forced the Sultan to grant to his subjects a constitutional form of government. Two years later he was deposed, and the control of Turkish affairs passed into the hands of a "Young Turk" party, which was soon in close friendship with Germany. But the turn affairs had taken in Turkey showed the people of the Balkans that the Turks were no longer a nation to be feared; and this was still more clearly shown by an Italian invasion and conquest of Tripoli, 1911. The Christian States of the Balkans therefore formed a League to attack Turkey when opportunity offered, and in 1912 defeated the Turks in a short campaign. The Powers intervened when the treaty was being arranged, and a quarrel between the Balkan States led to a second war, 1913 of the Bulgarians against Greece, Serbia, and Rumania, in which the Bulgarians were quickly beaten. A second settlement, in which the Great Powers took part, left the Bulgarians very much the losers by their action, while Turkey gained also because her foes were divided. Germany had played an important part in the settlement, and it seemed as if she was, in truth, the most powerful

nation in Europe. But Rumania was becoming more independent of Austrian and German influence, and Italy seemed to be cooling so far as the Triple Alliance was concerned. Such was the state of Europe when the Great European War broke out.

(iii) *The Great War*

The war clouds that had been gathering over Europe during the early years of the twentieth century burst at last in 1914. The immediate cause of conflict was the murder of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, at Serajevo in Bosnia on June 28. Austria declared that the Serbian Government was an accomplice in the crime and sent to Belgrade an ultimatum to be accepted within forty-eight hours. This led to war by rapid steps. Austria began to mobilise against the Serbians; Russia began to mobilise against Austria; Germany intervened on the side of Austria, and demanded the immediate demobilisation of the Russian forces, and, when this was refused, declared war on Russia. France was now forced into the struggle; but Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, remained neutral. Britain still strove for peace, or at any rate for a limitation of the area of conflict, but in vain; and when the German Government proposed to pass through Belgium in order to attack the French army over a very wide front, Britain declared war. Her fleet was already mobilised, and now her Expeditionary Force of well-trained and well-equipped regular soldiers moved across the Channel, and were soon in conflict with the

enemy in the neighbourhood of Mons. The German troops had met with a strenuous resistance during their passage through Belgium, but had succeeded in forcing their way through by their superior numbers and equipment, especially in artillery. The British force of about 75,000 men was on the left of the French line,

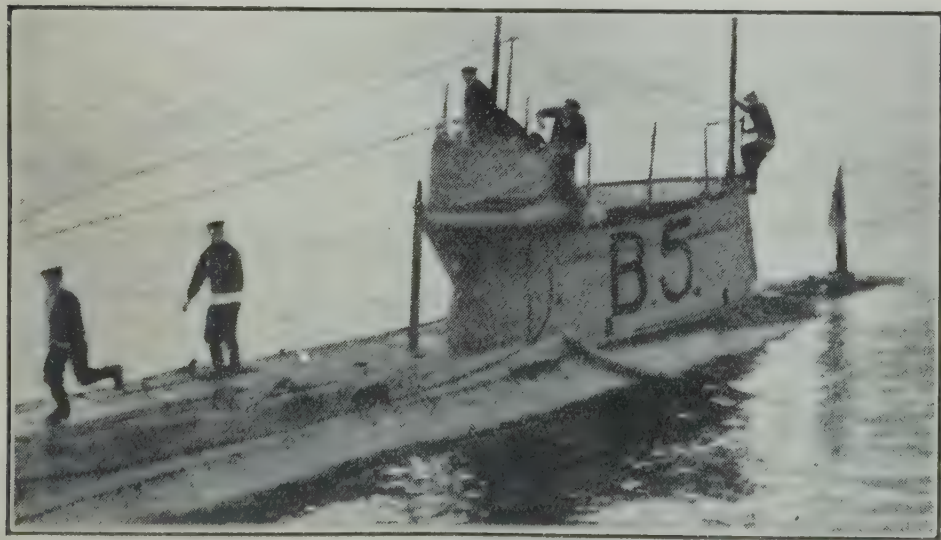


and was more than holding its own when a French defeat at Charleroi made a general retirement necessary, and the Allied forces were pushed back in the direction of Paris, until they were at last able to take the offensive once more, and force back the Germans at the battle of the Marne. The Germans retired in orderly fashion and entrenched themselves on French soil upon the Aisne plateau. While these events were

taking place, another German army under General von Hindenburg had gained a great victory over the



By permission of Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd.
WAR PLANES IN FLIGHT.



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A SUBMARINE MAKING READY TO SUBMERGE.

Russian forces near Tannenburg, though the Russian army in the south was driving back the Austrians from their frontier.

Outside Europe matters went badly for Germany. The whole of her colonial possessions were at once occupied by Allied forces ; and only in East and South-West Africa was there any resistance. The British navy had gained control of the sea almost as soon as the war started ; and though the German naval leaders



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SETTING UP BARBED WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS.

hoped to do much damage to British warships by mines and submarines, and to British commerce by their cruisers, neither of these hopes proved true. A British force off Chile, near Coronel, was defeated and destroyed by a superior German force in 1914 ; but before the year was out all but one of these German ships were sunk in an engagement off the Falkland Islands, and a like fate met the vessel that escaped, the *Dresden*, a

short time afterwards. A more serious matter by far was that two German vessels in the Mediterranean, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, managed to escape to Constantinople; for this brought Turkey into the war on the side of Germany.

Before winter closed in, the line of forces on both



Official Photograph. By courtesy of Imperial War Museum.

VIEW OF ANZAC, LOOKING TOWARDS SUVLA BAY.

sides reached from Switzerland to the North Sea; and the Allies were fighting desperately with inferior forces and equipment to prevent the Germans from seizing the Channel ports, and so menacing England. It was absolutely essential to keep the Channel open for the conveyance of men and supplies to the Continent. The Germans made desperate efforts to break through the line at Arras, La Bassée, and Ypres, but in vain.

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and soon both sides settled down to wait for the spring ; while all parts of the Empire collected forces to come to the help of the mother-country, and Indians and Canadians fought during the winter upon the western front.

With the spring of 1915 the struggle was renewed. In the west there were battles at Neuve Chapelle and Ypres, where the Germans first made use of poison-gas ; in the east the Russians were driven back from Galicia by General Mackensen, though their line was unbroken. They were badly handicapped by a lack of munitions, and in order to relieve them it was decided to attempt to force the Dardanelles. When naval enterprise had failed to do this, a landing in the Gallipoli peninsula was determined upon. The wonderful story of the landing of the British and Anzac forces on this peninsula will never be forgotten in the story of the British Empire. But not even the heroism of these soldiers could wrest the peninsula from the Turks, and at the end of the year the troops had to be withdrawn. This failure in Gallipoli, with the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine with the loss of about 1,600 lives, Zeppelin raids, and the shelling of Scarborough and other east coast towns by German ships, made 1915 a year of gloom and depression, which was relieved only by the good news that Italy had declared war on Austria ; though Bulgaria, on the other hand, had joined the enemy and was attacking Serbia.

Early in 1916 Vice-Admiral Beatty caught some German cruisers near Heligoland, sank one of them, the *Blücher*, and severely damaged some of the others. The navy was playing its part nobly by keeping open

the seaways for the Allies and blockading Germany, and a shortage of food supplies and of materials neces-



Official Photograph. By courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

H.M. KING GEORGE V AND ADMIRAL BEATTY ON BOARD
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

sary for munitions was beginning to be felt there, though neutral countries were still able to supply Germany with considerable quantities of what she

required. At the end of May, too, the German navy was defeated and forced back to its harbours by Jellicoe's victory at Jutland, a battle in which the skill and daring of British sailors was as great as at any time in British naval history.

On the land, however, little progress was made. The French resisted desperate efforts on the part of the Germans to break through their lines at Verdun, although the attack lasted for more than two months, and the Germans used huge supplies of munitions in their attempt. A similar attack on the Italian front was likewise unsuccessful; and then the British and French forces attacked in turn with the aid of *tanks*, in the battle of the Somme, though they gained very little ground. It seemed as if the Allies were now on the point of victory, and Rumania entered the war on their side; but the Rumanians were at once completely defeated, and their country was occupied by the invaders.

In the next year, 1917, the German naval leaders decided to pursue a policy of "unrestricted submarine warfare," which meant that they would sink all kinds of ships, allied and neutral, on sight. In this way they hoped to force Britain to sue for peace, as ships were absolutely necessary for the carriage of food and supplies, and already the Allies were beginning to suffer from a shortage of ships. What actually followed from this decision was that the United States entered the war upon the side of the Allies. This was tremendously important. It made the victory of the Allies certain unless Germany could win almost at once, for the States could supply men, money, and

munitions in almost inexhaustible quantities. It was helpful, too, in another way, for about the same time there was a revolution in Russia, the Tsar was dethroned and a republic proclaimed, and Russia was no longer able to fight on the side of the Allies.

The Germans therefore strained every nerve to reach a favourable decision before the American troops could be trained and share in the fight. There were aeroplane raids on London and Paris, and constant attacks along the western front. In October an attack on the Italian army at Caporetto nearly broke the Italian line, but her soldiers saved the situation. In the previous year matters had gone badly with the British forces in Mesopotamia, and attacks had been made also on the Suez Canal; now at the close of 1917 a brilliant advance by General Allenby conquered Palestine for the Allies, and Jerusalem was occupied before the end of the year.

Finally, in March 1918, the German forces under Hindenburg and Ludendorff made their last desperate effort to break through the British line. For ten days they advanced, but their attempts to break through failed; and though they continued their efforts at intervals until July with great losses of men, they failed to break the Allied lines, though the soldiers were forced to retire at many points. When at last their attacks were exhausted, General Foch, now in command of the allied forces, commenced to attack in his turn; and soon the strong lines of defence built by the German troops, and deemed impregnable, were pierced.

While the soldiers were thus bravely and doggedly resisting the last desperate efforts of their opponents

on land, our navy performed one of the most daring exploits that have been recorded, even in its history. In April 1918 a small fleet of ships entered Zeebrugge Harbour, the headquarters of German submarine



Official Photograph. By courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

FIELD-MARSHAL EARL HAIG.

Earl Haig commanded the British Forces on the western front, in the later stages of the war.

enterprise in the North Sea, and effectually checked that enterprise by blocking up the harbour. It was a daring expedition, successfully carried out by men who knew full well the risks they were taking.

Before the end of August the Germans were retiring in the west ; a month later Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally ; Allenby continued his victorious career in Syria, and in October Turkey gave in, while a little later Austria was asking for an armistice at almost any price. The German navy at Kiel rose in rebellion ; there was a revolution in Germany, and the Kaiser was forced to abdicate, and retired to Holland. The German military leaders asked for an armistice, and on November 11, 1918, the terrible struggle came to an end, for the terms on which the armistice was signed were such as made it impossible for Germany to renew the contest.

(iv) *The League of Nations*

The feeling of joy with which the armistice was received was tempered by a feeling of sorrow at the troubles and losses that had been endured. The problem of making a satisfactory peace also was a most difficult one ; but one thing that was clearly in the minds of most people was the desire that this terrible war should be the last of wars. Many people of importance in England had spoken of it on several occasions as "a war to end war" ; and the thought that after this war was over something would be done to make wars impossible in the future had helped many persons to endure the sufferings and horrors of a period of war, which had been rendered terrible by the weapons that the advances of science had placed in the hands of combatants.

The Peace Conference met at Versailles, and re-

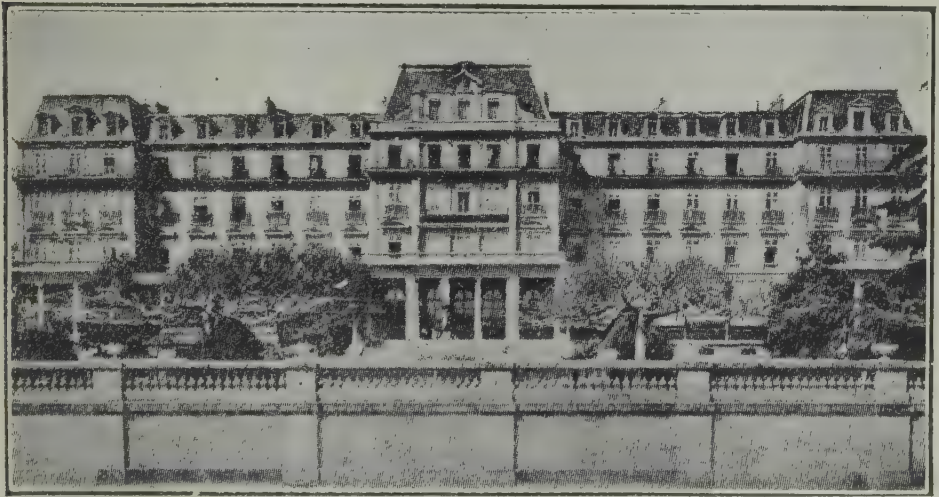
constructed the map of Europe. Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France ; a new Republic of Poland was established ; the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was divided into a number of States. Readers may



trace these reconstructions on the map on this page. The German colonies in Asia and Africa were handed over to other nations, and to these nations mandates were given to rule the States wisely and well in the interests of the native people themselves. There was

the difficult problem of fixing the payment to be made by the defeated nations as compensation and reparation for the damage they had done in the territories they had occupied during the war ; and it was also decided that there should be imposed upon the conquered powers a limitation of armies and armaments.

But the story of earlier treaties has usually been also the story of broken pledges, and no treaty in itself



THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, GENEVA.

is strong enough to stand against the wishes of a nation bent on war. Something of nobler type was required for the future peace of the world ; and so the hopes of peace were centred in the formation of a League of Nations united by a new Covenant among the nations of the world, a covenant framed and signed by its promoters " to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment

Important Persons	OVERSEAS	A.D.	IN THE BRITISH ISLES	Important
Louis Philippe of France Mazzini	Death of Napoleon at St. Helena	1821	Petition for Parliamentary Reform	Castlereagh
	Death of Byron in Greece	1823	Stockton—Darlington railway opened	Huskisson
	Battle of Navarino	1824	Test Act repealed	Canning
	Revolution in France	1825	Catholic Emancipation Act	Sir W. Scott
		1827	Accession of William IV	Earl Grey
Garibaldi		1828	First Reform Act	Lord John Russell
		1829	Emancipation of Slaves Act	Palmerston
		1830	Poor Law Amendment Act	Lord Durham
		1832	Municipal Reform Act	Melbourne
		1833	Accession of Queen Victoria	Rowland Hill
Cavour	Rebellion in Canada	1837	People's Charter issued	Victoria
	First Afghan War	1838	Penny Postage started	Cobden
		1839	"Young Ireland" founded	Bright
		1842	Rochdale Co-operators commence	Peel
		1844	Repeal of the Corn Laws	Prince Albert
Napoleon III	The year of Revolutions	1846	Factory Act	Florence Nightingale
	Punjab annexed	1847	Chartists in London	Gladstone
		1848	Great Exhibition	Disraeli
		1849	Discovery of gold in America	Darwin
	Crimean War	1851	Beginning of Fenian movement	Dickens
Lincoln R. E. Lee	Peace of Paris	1854	Second Reform Act	Thackeray
	Indian Mutiny	1856		Spencer
	Powers of East India Company transferred to Crown	1857		Tennyson
	American Civil War (1861-5)	1858		Browning
	Formation of Dominion of Canada	1861		
		1867		

	1872	Ballot Act	
	1876	Elementary Education compulsory	Parnell
	1877		
	1878	Queen made Empress of India	
	1879	Berlin Congress	
	1880	Zulu War	
		Boer War	
	1882	Rebellion in Egypt	Gordon
	1884	Berlin Conference for partition of Africa	
	1885	Death of Gordon	
	1886		Salisbury
	1888		Balfour
Krüger			
Kaiser Wilhelm II	1890	Anglo-German agreement over Africa	
	1891		
	1894		Rosebery
	1896		
	1898	Powers obtain lands in China	Kitchener
Botha	1899	Reconquest of the Sudan	Chamberlain
		Boer War (1899-1902)	Cecil Rhodes
Smuts	1901	Commonwealth of Australia formed	
	1902		Edward VII
	1904	War between Russia and Japan	
Clemenceau	1908		Asquith
	1911		Lloyd George
	1912	Scott reaches the South Pole	Bonar Law
	1914	Great European War (1914-18)	
Joffre			Grey
Foch			French
Hindenburg			Haig
Ludendorff			Jellicoe
President Wilson	1918	Treaty of Versailles	Beatty
	1919		
		November 11, Armistice Day	

of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised Governments with one another." The formation of the League was one of the articles of the Treaty ; and the clause which established the League owed much to the efforts of President Wilson. Such a covenant as this, if loyally observed, should make it very much more difficult for nations to go to war with one another than it has been in the past.

All the Allies who signed the Treaty of Versailles, and many neutral nations also, have accepted the Covenant ; and the League of Nations has been established with its Assembly, Council, permanent officials, and place of meeting. But this Covenant is only one part of the work of the League. Already many important duties have been given to it. It is making plans for carrying out the provisions for the reduction of armaments among the nations ; its Council is a Permanent Court of International Justice to hear and decide any dispute of an international character that nations may submit to it ; it is endeavouring to establish better conditions of labour in all countries ; it is taking steps internationally to combat disease. The colonies captured by the Allies from Germany in the course of the war have been entrusted to its care ; and it is the duty of the League to appoint European nations to occupy these territories under mandate from itself, and to govern and develop them in the interests of the native population, under the supervision of the League.

In spite of many difficulties the League has already accomplished very much important work ; and its position will be strengthened as the nations realise the advantages and the value of the work it is doing. Unfortunately, at present, all the nations are not members of the League ; but it is to be hoped that, as time goes on, not only the United States, but also Russia and the nations conquered in the war will also become full members of it. It has assisted in the financial recovery of Austria ; it has settled differences between nations over disputed boundaries, differences which would otherwise almost inevitably have led to war. Its success in the future depends upon the help that is given to it by the nations who are members of the League ; for they are pledged to submit their disputes to an inquiry by the Council of the League, and not to commence war until three months after the report of the inquiry has been made, while those members who break these provisions are to be cut off from all relationship with the League members. But the success of the League depends also upon the help of the people of the nations who have suffered from the war, and know the horrors of the war period, and the difficulties that follow from it. Every boy and girl should try to discover more about the work and worth of the League of Nations.

EXERCISES

1. Compare the size and boundaries of the European countries in 1914 with those of to-day. Make a list of the changes that have taken place. (Use the maps on pages 543 and 558.)

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2. Find out all you can about the work, objects, etc., of some important Trade Union. (Let it be first hand knowledge, gained from a member, if possible.)

3. Find out what you can at first hand about one or more of the campaigns of the Great War.

4. Try to discover all you can about the objects of the League of Nations, its constitution, and the work it has already done.

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